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THE
STATE PAPERS
AND
LETTERS
OF
SIR RALPH SADLER.



Mary Queen of Scots

*From an original Picture in the possession of
The Hon^{ble} W^m Maule of Panmure M.P.*

Published by Arch^d Constable & Co Edinburgh Feb: 1809.

THE
STATE PAPERS
AND
LETTERS
OF
SIR RALPH SADLER,
KNIGHT-BANNERET.

EDITED BY
ARTHUR CLIFFORD, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE OF SIR RALPH SADLER,
WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES,
BY
WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME SECOND.

I. Memorial concerning the Border Service, 1559-60,	-	Page 271
II. Letters during the great Northern Insurrection, 1569-70,	-	299
III. Accompt rendered by Sir Ralph Sadler,	-	427
IV. Appendix to Sadler's Letters concerning the Northern Insurrection, consisting of a Roll of Attainder of such Rebels as were forfeited for the Northern Insurrection.—Letters concerning the Family of Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.—The Estate of English Fugitives under the King of Spain, and his Ministers,	-	459

LETTERS
DURING THE WAR
OF
THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION,
1559-60.

No. LIII.

Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

SENCE the lettres brought by Jhon Bynks, I never herd from you; but I doo daylye looke for some intelligence presently. I here, wherof I doo muche muse, that the French have sent a great seale into Scotland, graven with tharmes of Fraunce, England, and Scotland, and with a stile for the French king and quene, naming them K. and Q. of Fraunce, England, Scotland. Wherof I beseche you to inquire as circumspectly as ye may possibly; for the manner of those proceedings be to sharpe to be long endured.

I cannot tell from whom these lettres doo come; but as ye maye, when ye have redd them, seal them and see them sent. It is advertised for certenty that the marquis Dalboeff is departed into Scotland, which wold be inquired, and there considered. Thus I take my leave. From Hampton Court. Tomorrow the quenis majestie removeth to Westminster. 27 Sept. 1559.

Yours, as ye knowe,

W. CECILL.

Hast, hast, hast, post. W. CECILL.

No. LIV.

Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

Albeit we have had no maner of advertisement from *Balnaves* syns his departure hens, which is xiiij dayes ago, ne yet from Randall, alias Barnaby, whom we depeched x dayes ago to *therle of Arrayne*, being sent for by the sayde erle, as by our former lettres we did advertise; yet we have thought good, leest we shoulde be noted necligent, to write somewhat of such things as we here by good and credible advertisement, which is, that the French men do builde and fortifie at Legh, intending, as it semeth, to kepe themselves within that strength, and so to be maisters of the chief porte and entrie into that parte of Scotland. There be iij sayles arrayved at Legh forsaide within this iij dayes passed, wherein is the bisshop of Amyens and iij^e souldiours, as it is sayed; but we here no certentie of La Brosse. This morning is past by here a grete ship, wherein it is supposed that he is; as we shall here more certentie thereof, so we shall advertise.

Of the protestants proceedings, we here that they mete often, and *that the duke hath ben in consultacion with them*, and have now given

the house to sir Rafe Grey, to be by him garded according to his covenants made at the tyme of his late restitution; whereuppon we have delyvered unto him the charge of the said house; but if it should be no better garded then he is ordered by his covenants to kepe it, as indede he is scant hable to do so moche, it were an easye thing to surprise and stele it uppon every sodeyn; and therfore, with the consent of sir J. Croft, we have appoynted iiij goonners, wherof sir Rafe Grey is charged with ij and xx harquebusiers, to remayn still at Warke with the saide sir Rafe Grey for the more suretie of the pece, wherewith the quenes majestie is no more charged then before. And thother xxx souldiours are removed hither accordingly.

Warke surely it is the metest place on all the frontier for a man of service to lye in, both for the better ruling of the countrey in tyme of peax, and for thannoyance of thenemye in the tyme of warr, and therefore most mete to be in the quenes majesties hands, as I wolde wishe it to be, the saide sir Rafe Grey* being recompenced for the same in suche sorte as were convenyent. But then I wolde wishe also that her highnes wolde be at som charge in the fortifying both of the towne and the castell, which is in gret decay, and so shoulde you have here a strong frontier.

Thus have I sayed my poure opynyon, and if there were no wyser men then I, the revenewes of the bishoprick of Dureham shoulde bere the grettest parte of all the saide charges; but now I have sayed, I woll yelde, and give place to men of more knowlege and deper iudgement, and yet when they have all sayed, I do meane aswell as the best, and so, &c. 30th of September, 1559.

* Who was the feudal lord of the castle, as has been repeatedly noticed, and died seized of it.

No. LIX.

THOMAS RANDALL to Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

I doo nott dowte but your honors woonder where I am becom. My waye was so evill prepared for me at Ferniherst,† that I was fayne to tary there fyve dayes, and he himselfe brought me a greate parte of the waye. At my arrivall here, therle of Arrayne was at St Androwes, with the protestants, and will nott be here before Sondaye next. The duke giveth you bothe greate thankes for his sonne; he kepith me prisoner. The duke is unwilling that I shoulde retourne before the lords of the congregacion be assembled, whiche will be the xvth of the next moneth. The regent hathe writen to the duke, reproving him for ioynnyng with the lords of the congregacion, and charging him that the saide lords of the congregacion did practise with the quenes majestie. Besids the letter, the berer had credite to talke of agreament: the conditions were, to leve their fortifyng; libertie for all men to use their conscience, and the French to departe by a daye. His answer was, that he coulde doo nothing withoute the lords of the congregacion: The 28th he received a lettre gentlie writen from le Brosse and the bishop of Amyens,‡ requyering him, in the kyng and quene of

* It is decyphered.

† A castle belonging to that noble family of Ker which is now represented by the Marquis of Lothian: it lies about two miles above Jedburgh. The representative of the family at this time was sir John Ker, who was knighted by the duke of Chatelherault when regent, and may be supposed attached to his interest: for it will be remembered, that Randolph was upon a secret expedition to Hamilton, to rejoin the earl of Arran.

‡ Spottiswoode thus announces the arrival of this warrior and prelate: "Mons. Pelleuce, bishop of Amiens, (he was afterwards archbishop of Sens, and created cardinal,) arrived about this time at Leith, accompanied with three doctors of the Sorbonne, Dr Furmer, Dr Brocket, and Dr Feretier. Mons. La Brosse, a French knight, gave them the convoy, with two thousand foot. The doctors gave out, that they were come to dispute with the preachers of the congregation: the other two pretend a legation, and sent to some of the nobility at that time resident in Edinburgh, to demand a hearing." *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 133-4.

Scotlands names, to be at Edinburgh the 6 of Octobre, which he hathe refused. The archbishop of St. Androwes, and thabbot of Kilwynyng,* have taken their leave of the regent, and are bothe here: but verie angrie with the duke. The papists mistrust themselves; they are not above iij m. (3000). The shipp that le Brosse and the bishop of Amyens cam in is broken all thone side. The lorde Erskin hathe promised to kepe the castell of Edinburgh. This is all I have to write besids my humble commendacions, trusting to heare from you again by this berer. Lett us have your advise howe to send unto you. We woulde be glad to heare what newis ye have of the king of Sweden. The duke thinketh himselfe bounde to your honors. At Hamilton, the last of September, 1559.

No. LX.

Sir RAFF SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

We have receyved your severall lettres of the 22 and 23 of this present, which were not conveyed hither with such spede as Bynks posted to you with ours from hens; for yours were vj dayes a commyng hither. And therefore when we wryte, we indorse our lettres for lyef, though the matier requyre not so much hast; and so must you do, orrells the posts woll make no spede at all.

But now for answer to your saide lettres, where amongst other things you wryte that the quenes majesties pleasure is, † *that the Mr of Maxwell shoulde secretly be advertised that it is altogether without*

* Gavin Hamilton was the last commendatory abbot of Kilwinning. He was a great enemy to the reformers in general, and to John Knox personally; and was killed at the Water-gate of Edinburgh, 28 June, 1571, in a skirmish between the king and queen's faction.

† Probably written with a cypher.

her majesties will that such crueltie shoulde be shewed towards him as hath ben of late by the Graymes, &c. We have declared the same to Alexander Whitlaw at his now being here, who woll advertise the saide Mr of Maxwell thereof. And also give him advise, that if he be further molested, he shall complayn of the same to us, being now commissioners here for border matiers, to thintent we may devise som way for his quyetnes and redresse, as aperteyneth. As for the devise to favour him secretly in Irland, we thinke it not mete to make him that offer, because we see not that he is in any such distresse, but that he is well able to abyde in his countrey maugre his enemyes; and if it please you to take order that he be not interrupted by thincursions of the saide Graymes, and others theyr complices, he shalbe able at his pleasure to repaire to the protestants with his power, at such tyme as they shall requyre the same.

It shall not be amyse, in our opynyons, to call the lord Dacres to the courte, so he have straight charge to take order before his departure from the borders, that non attemptats nor incursions be made, neyther by the Graymes ne other Englishmen, but that good peax and amyte may be observed and contynued under his rule according to the treatie, as he woll answer to the contrary. What good matier you may have agenst him at his comyng up, we cannot tell you more then we have already wrytten; but it semeth to us that he may well be charged with great negligence, that in the tyme of warre wolde sytte still, and do nothing to thannoyance of thenemye; and now, in the tyme of peax, when he shoulde studie to muryshe and increase amyte, to suffer such attemptats and incursions to be made to the disturbance, breche, and violation of the same, which, as we thinke, he might have stayed it if he had listed. The presumptions surely be grete that it shoulde be a practise, wherwith we neyther can, ne woll charge him; but if there were no other matier, his sicknes is a sufficient cause to remove him from that charge; for he that is so troubled with such an infirmyte as he hathe, and was this last somer in very ill case withall, is not mete for such a charge, though there were non other impedymment. The consyderacion whereof we referre to your

wisdom. And so, giving you our herty thanks for your newes, we commytte you, &c. The last of Sept. 1559.

No. LXI.

*Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to the Lords of the Privie
Counsail.*

It may like your good lordships to understonde, that whereas our late sovereigne lady quene Mary in her tyme addressed her lettres to therle of Westmorland, then her highnes lieutenant here, that he shoulde take order for the allowance of ij^{ib} of corne pouder every moneth, to be given to every harquebutier in these bandes, of her gracie liberalite and rewarde, to thintent they might by the use and exercise of their pecis lerne to be the more profite in that feate; whereuppon the saide lord lieutenant wrote his lettres to Mr Gower, then master of the ordynance in these north parts, willing him to make the saide allowance by the warraunt of sir John Brende, then muster master here, from tyme to tyme, which was perfourmed accordingly untill the first of May last past; sithens which tyme the saide Gower hath had no further warraunt: notwithstanding that, ever sithens unto this present, the souldours have had their powder as they had before of the quenes majesties store, thinking to enjoye still their forsaide allowance. There is now a question rysen therof betwixt the saide Gower and the capteyns and souldours here of the saide bands, for that the saide Gower requireth to stoppe so moche money in the tresourers hands of their pay as woll satisfie for the powder which they have had of him sithens the saide first of May; and on thother side the saide capitaynes and souldours do allege, that they knew none other but that they shoulde still enjoye their saide allowance, because they had no sufficient warning of the contrary, orells the poure souldours wolde not have spent so moche powder as they have done, which if they

shoulde now be compelled to pay for, shoulde be to theyr gret hinderance. The saide Gower sayeth he gave them warning thereof, and they denye it; so that hereof arriseth the controversie. Wherefore we are become humble suters to your lordships, that it may please you to have som consideracion of the same; and though we thinke that it had ben moch better to have relieved the souldours som other way, because we lyke not the president, yet sithens it is past, and that therby tharquebutiers here are becom so perfite in their feate, that for so many we thinke there be no better of no nacyon, we humblye besече your good lordships, that it may please you to direct your lettres unto the saide Gower for his better warraunt to make the saide allowance till this present, and that from hencefourth it may cease, whereby though the quenes majestie be the loser, yet the controversie wolbe ended, and the capitaynes and souldours here well contented. The second of October, 1559.

No. LXII.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

SIR,

Yours lettres of the 29 of September cam hither the 3 of October, with all others inclosed therin. Slowe begynnings some tyme make good ends, but not in all things. *The quenes majestie* is well pleased that ye shall, *of the remayne in your hands*, use your discretion to rewarde such of *the protestants* as ye shall think mete; I meane such as the lords of Ormeston, Kircaldy, and Balnaces, and Whitelaw. For more money, ye shall have shortly *three thousand pounds* sent thither. The request of Scottishmen, which sue for liberty for trafficquyng, can not be granted without request from the quene of Scottes, in which poynt the French ambassador hath bene of late very earnest; and yet if *the captain of Barwick* can helpe the matter, he shall have authorite from

hence therfore. I cannot here of any that sueth for Mrs Bowes* lycense, or to whom I might here delyver it, if it were obtayned. And thus, being fully occupied with busyness, I leave you to your busyness, meaning to wryte more at large shortly, and lykewise to here from you. From Westminster. This berer can informe you of all our comen newes. 3 October at night, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. LXIII.

Sir R. SADLER, Sir JAMES CROFT, and JOHN ABINGDON, to the Lords of the Privie Counsaile.

It may like your good lordships to understonde, that wheras we do perceyve by the remayne of victualls heare at this presente, and the daylie expences of the same, that the provicion nowe in store will not serve untill the ende of Marche next; we have therfore thought good to put your lordships in remembraunce of the same, to thintent that ordre might be taken for a newe provicion ageynest the next yeare. And forasmoche as all the moneye that is dewe to the quenes majestie for victualls delyvered to the souldiours and laborers here, besids that which the treasurer shall now receyve in Yorkshire, wolbe litle ynough, and as we feare to lytle, for the furnytur of the next paye, we do not see that any provicion can be made heare for wante of moneye. Wherefore it behoveth, that your lordships do either appoynt porveyours there, and *prest* them with moneye to make a newe provicion, or ells give leave to me John Abington (leavinge my chardge here in order with suche as dothe serve under me, to come to London,) and there to devise with your good lordships how the saide new provision may best

* Elizabeth Bowes, mother of John Knox.

be made in London, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and so a longest the coasts, which I may do verye well in my way retorning hither, and I trust shalbe well able to do it as profitably for the quenes highnes as anye other. And for that the tyme is nowe best for the makinge of the same provicion, we desyer that it may please your lordships to make us your speadye aunswere herein. The iiijth of October, 1559.

No. LXIV.

The Queen to Sir RALPH SADLER.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greeete you well. And where yt appeireth by your lettres, and sondry advertisements, how needefull yt is that you shuld not lacke som convenient relief of money for the porposes heretofore committed unto you by us, we have thought convenient to send unto you by this bearer the somme of three thousand pounds in golde, to remayne there with you untill, upon your further advertisement before the end of this moneth, we may parceive what shall be convenient furder to doe herin, and in what manner this portion shall be defrayed. And therefore we praye you not to neglecte (as hitherto ye have not) to advertise us from tyme to tyme of the proceedings there. And as touching the remayne of the former somme which ye had delyvered unto you at your departure hence, we are pleased that ye shall bestow such parte therof as ye shall thinke mete for thadvancement of our service upon such particular parsons as heretofore ye have mentioned, and that have expended of their owne to the furderance of our comon service and theirs. And in these your doings we shall accepte your faythfull and paynefull service as the same well deserveth. Gyven under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the fyfte of October, the fyrst yere of our raigne, 1559.*

* To our righte trusty and welbeloved counsaillour sir Ralphe Sadler, knight, one of our commissioners upon the borders foranempst Scotland.

No. LXV.

The Lords of the Counsail to Sir RAFE SADLER.

After our verie hartie comendacions. For that we wold gladly understande the present state of thaccompt of sir William Engleby, thresourer of Barwicke, we pray you to appointe sum suche trustie and skilfull man there, as you thinke meate for this purpose, to take the declaracion thereof of the said thresourer, to whom we have presently written for this matter; and thereupon to send the same unto us with speade. And thus we bid you right hartely fare well. From Westminster, the xjth of October, 1559.

Your assured loving frends,

W. NORTH.	ARRUNDELL,
E. CLYNTON,	W. HOWARD,
THO. PARRY,	F. KNOLLYS,
AB. CAVE,*	W. CECILL.
E. ROGERS,	

No. LXVI.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my very harty comendations. To morrow, in the morning, Overton, the clerk of the musters, shall depart hence, and shall bryng with hym *three thousand pounds*, as at his comming shall appere. *He knowith not* how much *he bringeth with hym*. Ye maye be bold with that which ye have, as yee see cause, to defray part thereof. Ye shall

* Sir Ambrose Cave, knight, privy counsellor and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. He died 2d April, 1568.

perceyve by the included complaynt of the French ambassador, how hard it will be to gyve salveconducts for Scotts, not warranted by there quene. The lettres from you and Mr Crofts cam this day to my hands, touching the unnaturall proceeding of old Mr Crofts, wherin I will have as good regard as possible may be. I thank you for your lettres of your opinion for order of those wardenryes. God send good spede there, wherin the principall goodness resteth, I meane, in spede, and good spede; for if now advantage be not gotten, tyme will never retorne it; and so I end. This daye Math. Arundell is marryed to Mrs Willoghby. The French ar making gretar preparacions than before, and trust for the tyme uppon the fortification of Lethe. From Westminster, the 5 of October, 1559.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Postscript. When Mr Raylton wryteth in ciphre, lett hym wryte no more than nedeth, whiche I wryte in favor of my other labors.

No. LXVII.

Memoire de ce qu'en la derniere audience Monsieure l'Ambassadeur de France, proposa a la Royne, et à aulcuns de Messieurs du Conseil, pour ye estre pourveu selon la Raison et traicte.

Et premierement de ce que les Ecossoys passent en Angleterre, et les Anglois en Escosse, sans lettres et congé requis par les dits traictes. Comme entre aultres il est advenu d'un nommé le Sr. de Granges Escossoys, qui fust jusques a Norham, ou pour lors estoit le conte de Northumberland et son frere, y estant conduiet par ung leur serviteur Angloys, appelé Refflaurens, lequel aussy entra dans le dit Royaulme d'Escosse sans aucun*

* Ralph Lawrence, probably.

passeport. Et depuis quelque temps en ça un aultre Escossoys serviteur du conte d'Arrhan, appellé Forbas, est par plusieurs foyes en poste ou autrement passé et repassé de l'un en l'autre Royaulme sans aucun congé ny lettres, et auquel encores a esté permis d'achapter chevaulx a Barwick sen retournant dernièrement audit paye d'Escosse, qui sent trop grandes faveurs et tollerances en saison si suspecte des dits Escossois, et contre les dits traictes et bonne intelligence qui doit estre entre ces deulx Royaulmes, et dont le dit Sr. ambassadeur a requis que pour l'entretienement d'icelle, et de l'amitié commune, ladite dame voulust pour l'advenir faire cesser tels deportements, et que du passé il en fust faict telle raison et justice que l'importance et grande consequence du cas le requist.*

No. LXVIII.

Lord WHARTON to Sir RAFE SADLER.

After my moost harty commendacions unto you. Wheras a servaunt of myne dyd tayk the yong lard of Coldingknows, Scotysman, prisoner, as sondre of my servaunts dyd tayk others that day, when the disordred scrymishe was called Norham Chaice,* which prisoner I dyd let to suertyes, upon bound, to entre agayne upon warnyng, the same I did at that tyme, especially for the relef of Roland Forster, then prisoner, and kept in Edynburgh. At the dowegers commandement, I cawsed warnyng be geven to the suertyes, for the lard of Coldingknows entre to be at Neucastell, accordyng to the bound in wryting, which I have. I am advertised from my frend sir Robert Brandlyng,

* This appears to have been the skirmish mentioned by Hollinshed, as having taken place on Haliden-hill, near Berwick, when a party of the garrison of that fortress were surprised by a body of Scots and French from Eyemouth, while engaged in collecting forage. The skirmish continued, with various success, from one till four in the afternoon; but sir James Croft advancing with a reinforcement from Berwick, the English remained masters of the field. It was called *Morham Chase*, from a small hamlet of that name near the summit of Haliden-hill. There may, however, have been a skirmish of the same kind near *Norham*.

that the prisoner was with hym; and before his entre mayd, the mayor there did taik the prisoner upon therle of Northumberlands lettres, yours, and sir James Crofts. What is don with hym I know not.

Sir, I shall hartely desyer you that I may have the sayd prisoner to the use of my sayd servaunt, as to the law of armes requyereth. Yf yt be sayd to you that he is an other mans prisoner, and so tryed before the marshall of Barwyk, trewth yt is that my servaunt brought that prisoner, whom he tok upon Halladon hylls, in at the postron of the castell of Barwyk, before my lord of Northumberland, sir James Crofts, and me. And if anny tryall have passed for his taykyn before the marshall, I trust your wysdome wyll consyder that things done in the tyme of my charge, as capiteyne of the towne and castell of Barwyk, that the marshall now shold not suffer to be tryed before hym such a caice, and nather the capiteyne nor the tayker within his offyce at anny tyme. The same, and many others doings, rather defaceth offycers of trust, after there being in offyce of great charge, then can seme to be agreable with honour, justice, commen welth, or good serves. I desyer you that I may know your pleasure herupon, with my servaunt this berrer, to whom yt may please you to geve credence. Yf therbe anny pleasure I can doo for you in thes northe parties, I hartely pray you to comand the same. And so wolde I rest as your poore frend and old acquayntaunce. And I doo wyshe unto you as good healthe and succes, as your owne hart can desyer. At my howse of Wharton, the vth of October, 1559.

Your assured frend,

THOMAS WHARTTON.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

I send you, in a port manteau, three thousand pounnds, wherein I was troobled in eschangyng the same out of silver, and other English gold, into French crownes. I have bene bold to reteyne ij^c crownes in lieu of those which ye receaved there.* The party knoweth not but the money is for your self, and is in sylver, conteyning about iiij^c.^{lb} in sylver. I send you the key sealed upp with the signett, and so have I willed the beror to delyver it saftly unto you. I have gyven the beror for his labor vj^l. vij^s. viij^d. for payment for his horse hyare, &c. By the quenes majesties lettre ye shall understand hir further plesure. I can not here convert so much into French gold as I wold, but thus ye shall fynd it in the port manteau:

In French crowns, with odd silver	- - -	l. c. xx. i. s.	m.vij.ij. xix xv
In ryalls	- - - - -	l. c. s. d.	m. j. xxvij iij
In crowns English	- - - - -	l. s.	lv x
In French crownes of myne in your hands		l. s. d.	lxij vj viij
Total,		m. l.	ij

£.	s.	d.
1779	15	0
1101	8	4
55	10	0
63	6	8
<hr/>		
3000	0	0

From Westm^r, the vj of October, 1559.

Yours, most assured,

W. CECILL.

* The money was sent in French-coin, for the obvious purpose of concealing the quarter whence it came. The 200 crowns mentioned, were those repaid by Arran to sir Ralph Sadler, on account of his bill granted to Cecil.

No. LXX.

Lord WHARTON to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my most hartie commendacions unto you. I have receyved a lettre from my cousen, sir Thomas Dacre, of Lanercost, knyght, and also have a cotype of a recognisance, wherin my cousen, his sone, Chrystopor Dacre,* and others ar bound, as may appeare unto you by the same copie, which, with the lettre, I do send unto you herin enclosed.

Sir, I most hartely desyer you to extend your favour to thos two gentlemen. The father haith served this realme many years worthely: and on the marches, at all tymes where I had charge, his sone is toward, as may appere unto you thes serves consydered. And being bothe my kynsmen, I eftsones hartely desyer you to shew your favorable help to them bothe, as shall seme to your wysdome to be reasonable and convenyent: and therby you may have them at your commandement, and have me as I am accordingly. Yt may please you to gyve further credence to my sayd cousen Christofore Dacre, this berer. And so woll I comyt you to the governaunce of Almyghtye God. At Harteley, the vijth of October, 1559.

Your assured frend,

THOMAS WHARTTON.

* Sir Thomas Dacre, of Lanercost, had by his wife, a daughter of Denton, two sons, Christopher and John. The first who is here mentioned survived him, and carried on the line of his family. He appears, as is further explained in No. LXXIX. to have been imprisoned by lord Dacres, on account of a trespass in hunting, and only liberated upon a recognizance to appear before him where summoned, within twenty days.

No. LXXI.

Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT, to THO. RANDALL.

We have receyved your lettres by this berer, and glad we be to understonde that you are safelie arryved there, where we think good that you do remayne, so long as the dukes grace, and therle his soon, shall think convenyent; prayeng you to make our humble commendacions, with offer of our service unto them, and to shew them that we wishe and desyre them to be circumspect and diligent in this greate and weightie busynes, which they have in hande; for we be advertised that the marques Dalboef is depeched out of Fraunce, and woll very shortely arryve in Scotland; and also that there is a bande of Almaynes prepared to com thither, with asmoche spede as is possible. Wherefore it behoveth the lords of the congregacion to loke unto it, and to take their tyme whills it serveth, for as, in our opynyons, they have lost moch tyme, and therby suffered the French to fortifie at Legh, which at the begynnyng might well have ben impeched; so if the saide marques, and the saide straunge and forreyn powr may safely arryve and set fote on lande, to joyne with the French at Legh, it must neds be very dangerous to the lords of the congregacion, which it is most expedient for them well to foresee in such sorte, as they may both stoutely and prudentlye prevent the malice of their ennemyes in tyme.

The newes we have of the king of Suecia are, that he hath sent a greate ambassadour to the quenes majestie, with grete and liberall offers, which you may be sure woll take no place. We pray you be diligent in writing to us as you shall have occasion; and for the conveying of your lettres, we think that the duke, if it please his grace, may devise to make the way by his frends bytwin this and Hamylton so playne and open, that his messengers may safely passe without danger; for we knowe that a grete many gentlemen, both in the marches

and Tevydale, wolde be glad to do him pleasure and service; wherefore we mervaille that he doth not use good meanes to practise with them, and to labour therin to that effect, which might stonde him in greate *staide* for sondrye purposes, as we have instructed Alex. Whitlaw at his last being here. At Barwyk, 8 October.

No. LXXII.

Therle of NORTHUMBERLAND to Sir RAFF SADLER.

After my verie hartie commendacions. I sende you hereinclosed a copie of a lettre directed unto you and me frome my lordes of the councell, and for that it behoveth the same spedelie to be answered, I have therefore thought good to advertise you, that I mynde to be at Hexham upon Wednesday at night, about the consideracione of answer to the said lettres, and wold be glade to have you present there, to joyne with you in the same. And what you mynde herein I shall requier you advertise me, so as I may receyve youre answer therein before my departure from Harbotell, on Wednisdäie in the mornyng. And so I comit you to Almightye God. From Warkworth, the viijth of October, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

You shall receyve hereinclosed a lettre directed to you, which was inclosed in my packquet.

No. LXXIII.

*The Lordes of the Counsail to therle of NORTHUMBERLAND and Sir RAFF
SADLER.**

After our very hartie commendacions to your good lordshipe. We have resavyd your letters of the fourte of this present, and hard suche instructions as you sent by Mr. Slingsbie, your brotherinlawe, for answer wherunto you shall understand as followith: First, wher your lordship wryteth that the lady Carnabie haith refused the *livyng* of hyr house at Hexham to the keper of Tyndale, notwithstanding the quenis majesties letters *addressyd* unto hyr, and your lordships perswasions, we havynge sythens consydered both how farre hyr house is from thenymie, and the frountiers, and therby the more unmete to serve for thys purpose; and also that she, beyng a wedow, and havynge hyr daughter also a wedowe with hyr, can not convenyently, for sundrye respectes, spare any parte of hyr howse, do wysshe that your lordship had fownd owte some more fytter place for the sayd offycer, consydering that the same myght have bene done withowte offence or hurt to others, and serve to as good or better purpose then we persave the howse of the lady Carnabie can do; and yett, nevertheles, for that your lordship hayth already enterryd into thys matter, and therfor your credyt, as well in respecte of your owne estate, as of thaucthoryte of your offycer under the quenis majestie, is to be maynteynd, we have thought good that your lordships former resolucyon for the placyng of the keper of Tyndale ther, shall take effecte in thys sorte; That he shall remayne ther xiiij or xx dayes at the most, exceptyd the sayd lady Carnabie can be enduced to agre to hys abode ther for longer tyme; and at thend of the sayd xiiij or xx dayes, yf she shall not otherwyse agre,

* In this letter the council follow the plan suggested by Sadler, in a former letter (No. XXV.), for settling the dispute concerning the lady Carnaby's house.

to be removed from thens to some other place, and that to be done with your behalf, or your sayd brothers, in a kynde of gratyfiend the sayd lady. And because the sayd offycer of Tyndale shuld not in thys sorte contynew destytute of a convenyent place of abode, nor the quenis majestie thus drevyn for theyr servyse, to borow the howses of others; we pray your lordship, and you Mr Sadler, that takyng the advysses of some discrete persones of that countre, ye wyll consyder whether therbe any fytt place of the quenis maiesties ther, that may, with some cost, be mayd mete for that purpose, or yf any others have ther any such howses, as hyr maiestie may compownde with them for the same, either by purchase or exchange. And here we have thought mete to put you in remembrance of Tarsett hall, belonging to the lord Bowrows, and Hawgston, belonging to sir John Wetheryngton, beyng thought mete places to serve thys torne, whyche we pray you to consyder, and to syngnifie your opynions unto us touchyng the same, or touchyng any other that shalbe thought more mete, either by your letters, or at the comyng up of you therle.

For answeere to your lordships request, touching the inhabitants of Tyndale beyng offenders, your lordship shall understande, that we thynke you shall do very well to cause the cheyff leders and heads of them to be apprehendyd and commytted to warde; and some of them most faultye, to be, to the terror and example of others, executed, accordyng to their demerytes and the qualyteis of theyr fautes, and so offer to the rest of the meanest sorte, that have lesse offendyd, favor and pardon, so as they wylbe hensforth good subiects, and do also all that in them lyeth to apprehend and bryng to justice the rest of the cheyftaynes of the disordres ther. When you, Mr Sadler, hadd, amongst other thyngs, instructyons to consyder the state of Warke, we have thought good to put you eftsones in remembrans herof; and pray your lordship, and you, Mr Sadler, to call sir Raff Gray before you, and to consydre such covenants as passed between the late quene and hym, for the defence of the same, and therwithall to consydre what shalbe metyst to be done in that behalf, for the servyse of hyr

maiestie. And where your lordship wryteth that certeyn gentylmen of that countrie do absent them selfs from ther dwellyng howses nye the borders, wher they myght at all events do best servyse, we pray your lordship to sygnifie unto us ther names, together with ther dwellyng places, and the causes that moveth them to be absent; wherin we nothyng doubte but to understand that from your lordship, wherwith we may justly chardge them in reason; for as we be fully bent to defend your lordships aucthoryte and credyte, so wold we be loth to have any matter sertefyed, that shuld not at thend be justifiable, and such in ded as we might, with good reason, chardge them with all. And thus we bid your good lordship right hartly fare well. From Hampton court, the xxvth of September, 1559.

No. LXXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLER and Mr CROFT to Tho^s. RANDALL.

We have receyved both your lettres; and to the first we answered you by him that brought the same unto us, trustyng that or this tyme he is arryved with you. And as we did then, so we do now agayn, sende unto you our poure advise to move the dukes grace to have respect unto this tyme, which, if it be now pretermitted, can never be recovered; for we be advertised from Mr Secreterie, that in Fraunce greate preparacions are made of ayde to be sent from thens into Scotlande, and that the marques Dalboef is comyng thither with the same. For that they trust that the French shalbe able to kepe Legh untill the saide power may arryve there. Wherefore it is most expedient for the lords of the congregacion to take their tyme whylls they have it, and therby to prevent the malice of their enemyes, which they may well do if they can take Legh, and expell the French before any more aide com unto them; and as you write that the lords of the congregacion intende not to fall to any composicion or treatie, so do we thinke it most

expedient for them to beware thereof; for they may be sure that whatsoever is promysed, nothing wolbe performed. We do well allow the cause alledged by you of your being there, praying you so to use your self as no suspicion be gathered that you remayne there for any manner of practise, and the fewer do knowe of your being there the better it shalbe, in our opynyons. And perceyving by your last lettres, that the lord of Lidington and you wolbe here within ten dayes, we pray you advertise us assone as you can possiblie for what purpose he commeth, and whether hys dyrection shalbe to the quenis majestie, orells no farther then to this towne to conferr with us. So praying you to make our humble commendacions to the duke and therle of Arrayn, to whom we wishe as good successe and prosperyte in this their enterprises as their noble herts desyreth, we bid you well to fare, &c. 9th of Oct. 1559. We have sent the cotype of your lettres to Mr Secretarye, with therle of Arraynes hertie commendacions according to his desyre.

No. LXXV.

*The Lords and others of the Privie Counsaile to Sir RAFE SADLER,
Sir JAMES CROFT, and JOHN ABINGTON.**

After our very hartie commendacions. We have receved your lettres of the iijth of this present, and perceving by the same that you thinke requisite that a new supplie of victualls be provided to remayne in store there, we like the same your opynyons verie well, and thinke yt reasonable that you John Abington do repaire hither for that purpose, leying before your departure from thence your charge with suche oon as bothe can and will iustelye use and answer the same; and that you also make perfect declaracion before your coming away

* This was the purveyor of provisions for the garrison of Berwick.

to you Mr Sadler and Mr Croftes, of the hole remaine of victualls that you shall leve there in store. And because we wold gladly understande the perfect state of that your office, and a certain declaracion of your accompte, we requier you to bring with you all suche bokes and reconings as may serve to make us perfectly understande the same; and also at your coming up, either to repair by the way to Mounford, Waters, sir Tho. Woodhouse, and suche others, with whom you have bargained for any provicions for that your charge, to thende you may receve of them a certaine declafation of such reconyngs as have passed betwene you; orells to write earnestlye unto them for this purpose, so as at your coming hither there be no delaye or excuse, for want of any thing that may make us thughly understande your said accompte, and the present state thereof. Whereof we require you not to faile. And so we bid you hartely farewell. From Westminster, the xjth of Oct. 1559.

Your loving frends,

W. NORTH.*	ARUNDELL.	E. CLYNTON,
W. HOWARD,	THO. PARRY,	E. ROGERS,
F. KNOLLYS,	AB. CAVE,	W. CECILL.

No. LXXVI.

Sir RAFF SADLER to Mr Secretarie CECILL, touching Mr CHRISTOPHER DACRE.

SIR,

I most hertely beseche you to be good unto this gentleman Mr Christopher Dacre, son to sir Thomas Dacre, knight, in such his reasonable suts as he hathe unto my lords, you and others of the counsell; for surely both his father, who hathe served right worthely on thes frontiers

* William Par, marquis of Northampton.

thes many yeres, and he also, are verye extremely delt withall by the lord Dacre, and have suffered grete iniurye at his hands these vj yeres and more, which, as I am infourmed, the hole countrey woll testifie. And even now, for that the saide Mr Christopher Dacre did use his passetyme hunting in his fathers grounde, as he sayeth, of an out dere nere unto a parke of the saide lord Dacres, the same lord Dacre commytted him to warde, and wolde not delyver him untill he and certen gentilmen, as sureties for him, were bound by recognisance for his entree to the saide lord Dacre uppon xx dayes warning, as though he were his prisoner; as shall appere unto you by the copie of the saide recognisance hereinclosed: wherein me thinketh the saide lord Dacre, for so small a matier, hath shewed some malice and greate extremyte, and more then law and reason wolde, in that he semeth in his own cause to be both judge and partie. For the helpe whereof, and for release of the saide bonde, this young gentilman now repayreth to the courte, to be an humble suter to my saide lords, you and others of the counsell, and also to sue for redresse of the gret wrongs don both to his father and him, wherein, sir, I eftesones beseche you to let them have your favour and assistance, as the equitye of theyr casis shall requyre. Oct. xj. 1559.

No. LXXVII.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

The tyme will come shortly, that ye shall see what fruct will arrise of the purposed labors. All men thynk the slacknes will cause the whole matter (to) quayle. The duke d'Aumale is appoynted to come into Scotland. There be ij C men of armes comme downe towards Newhaven, (Nieuport, in French Flanders,) and the shippes ar almost reddey for there conveyance. One Leviston, a Scott, that passed lately into France from thence, carryed intelligence, that the erle of Arrayne

lacked no favor from England. I thynk he ment to saye somewhat to crave thanks.

The bishopp of Argyle,* base brother to the duke there, is come to London, without leave, from France, and yet the quenis majestie may not license him specially with her own hand; but for favor of his lignage, he shall depart in company or conduct of some English man. Hither is come one Mons^r. Carrouge, (Carnegy) now of the French kingis chambre, and before master of the horse, or such lyke, with the duke of Guise. His pretence is to bryng the names of 4 new hostagees; but his comming in dede is to consult here with thambassador what good advise may be sent to the dowager; and to that ende this daye cometh in post one Anthony Guery als protestant, a curror, with lettres. God send hym small spede. I trust Overton be nigh unto you by this tyme with monney, viz. 3000l. in gold. Ye must make shyft to change the ryalls into crownes, for I cold not do it for hast. In France it is sayd the erles of Huntley and Morton remayn from the protestants. Your matter, Mr Crofts, is stayed here tochyng the fyne levied by your father. From Westminster, the 12 of October, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. LXXVIII.

*The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsail to Sir
RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

After our harty commendations. The bearer herof, Ninian Men-
vile, gent. cummith to those parts in company with the bishop of Ar-

* James Hamilton, natural brother to the duke of Chatelherault, was first intended to succeed his brother in the see of Dunkeld, and afterwards postulated to that of Glasgow; but neither promotion took place. In 1558 he obtained the bishoprick of Argyle; but, according to Keith, there is no certainty that he was ever consecrated. In 1560 he embraced the reformed religion. Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 173.

gile, who desyreth to retourne in to his countrey. And for that the quenes majestie hath not gyven him any speciall saveconduct, bicaus of his hast, we have thought meet to requyre you to shew him such freendship as that he may passe in to his countrey without molestation or delaye, and yet in such discrete sort, as no favour shewed unto him may be evil interpreted, neither may appere outwardly, any further then shalbe very nedefull; for better accomplishment whereof, we think it best that he might be directed by Norham or Wark, rather then by Barwyke, if ye shall not thinke any better waye. And so we bidde you hartly well to fare. From Westminster, the xiiijth of Oct. 1559.

Your loving freends,

F. CLYNTON,

W. HOWARD,

THO. PARRY,

E. ROGERS,

W. CECILL.

No. LXXIX.

Therle of NORTHUMBERLAND to Sir RALPH SADLER.

It was agreed, as I do remembre, at our last sytting with the comyssoners of Scotland, that all attemptates alredie fyled shuld be as well delivered, as also to go throughe with theight bills, and to proceed to the covenantes and promysse of spering, fyling, and deliveringe of all attemptates commytted before the secound of Aprile, and for such as was done within the tyme of our sitting in comyssion shuld be spered, fyled, and delivered, so fare as may be done convenientlie, and is possible. Yet, notwithstanding, therll Bothwell utterlie denyethe the promise of spering, fyling, and deliveringe of the attemptates done before the secound of Aprile, and ever called for shewing of such writtings as beareth mencion of the same, that was agreed upon at our last syttinge, whiche I was not abell to shewe, but charge hym by

wordes, which he littell regarded, and ever called what I could charge hym by wryting, for that I had not the articles that was written and agreed upon at our departing, whiche shuld have bene assigned of us all, to thentent thofficers of bothe realmes shuld proceed therein accordingly, whiche, as I am enformed, was assigned by you and them, and never [as yet sent unto me ; which is not a lytell marvale to me, considering the most parte of the same articles shuld have bene put in execution by me. It seamyth the quenes majesties pore subiects is rather further dreven of for the having of justice by our last sytting in comyssion, then if suche comyssion had never ben sytt on. Therefore I wold wish, and do think it most convenient, you shuld take in hand to procede for the help and relieve of this pore countrie, as ye were put in trust when ye cam in comyssion for that purpose. For I I am sure ye are not amynded that I shuld do any good, when ye kepe from me the originall that I shuld be directed by. This berer, Thomas Claving, can declare unto you oure hole procedinges at this daie of trewece. And so comits you to Almighty God, From Warkworthe, the xij of Oct. 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

No. LXXX.

THO. RANDALL to *Sir* RALPH SADLER and *Sir* JAMES CROFT.*

It may please your honours to understand, that the last of Sept. I sent a man unto you with a lettre written in this sorte, of whome for that we have not hard before, we doo not a littell woondre. I advertised you at that tyme of all the newes that then I coulde, and desyred to knowe your advises how to convey my lettres. It maye please you

* This letter is written in a cypher.

nowe to knowe, that all thyngs have had marvelous good successe. The duke is very earnest and constant. Therle hath mo freends then he looked for; all menes hope of him is verie greate, and myne nothing diminished. His entreteynement hath been greate in all places where he hath been, and more than any subiect ever had, though sore against his will, as Kircaldie told me, who is in good credite both with the father and the son, and is restored to his lands by the duke. The resort hither of gentlemen is greate, and lettres dailie full of faire promises, wherof I have the copie of as many as will serve to any purpose, which I will bring with me at my comyng, which I think will be within tenne dayes, and bring with me the larde of Lydington * secretly in post. Upon Saterdag, the duke and his, departe hence towards Edinburgh. There preparacions is greate, and hope no lesse. It is saide that the Frenche steale myghtlie awaye in greate nombres. The lord of Erskin wool kepe the castell of Edynburgh. The archbishop of St Andrewes † was here, and went yesterday to bid the regent fare well. The duke hath forbid him his house, and forbid all men to paye him any rents. The discord hath been greater then I can write in few woords. Thabbot of Kylwynnyng is as false a karle as his cousin tharchbishop. The lord Maxwell takith this parte. This day departed hence therle of Eglinton, ‡ who is the dukes soon in law. There is greate hope of therle of Huntley, whose eldest soon hath been with therle of Arrain, and promiseth faire. He wrote lettres to the duke, with credit, whiche was to knowe what the quenes majestie wolde doo in this cause. Thanswer was, that as yet there was nothing requyered at her hands, and that he wolde use his advise therin, with many other good woordes, which I thinke will please him well. The

* *i. e.* The younger Lethington, secretary of state, who was deprived of that office by the queen-dowager upon his embracing the party of the congregation.

† He was the abbot of Paisley during Sadler's former negociation; being natural brother to the duke, he swayed him to the faction of the queen-mother. At present, however, his influence was diminished.

‡ Hugh, second earl of Eglinton, married to lady Jane Hamilton, fourth daughter of the duke of Chatelherault. He died 1585.

lord Somerville* cam from the regent to the duke with grevous complainys of hir unkyndness, with many mo woords to that effect. His owne counsail was not to credit her, and promised the duke his owne service. The lord of Minto† was this daye with the duke, and tolde him that the regent was in hand with him to go to therle of Lenox, to move him to take parte against him; this and suche lyke tales are caried on both partes. Your wisdoms know howe such matiers ought to be wayed. The regent hath set fourthe a proclamacion against the lords of the congregacion, with many sore woords of the duke and therle of Arrain, not beleving what soever is said, but the quenes majestie will observe the league, though in her private talke and letters it is farre otherwise, as by a lettre to the priour of St Andrewes,‡ whiche I have, it shall appeare. The lords of the congregacion have also set fourthe there proclamacion, as vehement on the other side, with full determinacion to fall to no composition. It is thought that there forte is of no greate force, and the compasse so great, that eight M. (8000) men can not defend it. Summe thinke the regent will departe secretlie. Summe that she will to Ynchkeith,§ for that three shippes are a preparing. Summe saye that she is verie sicke. Summe saye the devill cannot kill her. The prior of St Andrewes sent a lettre to therle of Arrain that he receyved out of Fraunce, conteyning manye newes of the preparacion against Scotland, with advise to seke ayde of England, which I gesse to savor to mucche of Knox stile to come from Fraunce, though it will serve to good purpose. Kircaldie and Alex. Whitlawe

* This was probably John, the sixth lord Somerville, son of lord Hugh, who is frequently mentioned in the negociation of 1548. He died in 1570.

† Stewart.

‡ Lord James Stewart, natural son of James V., afterwards earl of Murray, and regent of Scotland.

§ An island in the firth of Forth, about three miles from Leith. Here the queen-dowager built a fortress, the remains of which were lately used in constructing a light-house. The French soldiers, whom she quartered there, finding the native name a little barbarous, called the island *Isle Dieu*, and sometimes *Isle des Chevaux*.

have told me that the prior of St Andrewes wolde speake with me of summe mater of importance. Kircaldye and Alexander Whitlawe have eche of them but L. horsemen, so was it thought best to spare money. Thus muche have I writen of suche things as have passed synce the departure of the man I sent unto your honours, and heare not yet of him. Now it may please you that we maye have of your advise. It maye please you to credit me, I never sawe greater oportunitie to doo good upon people then presentlie. The quenes majestie may have them at her owne devotion. Wherefore your wisdomes maye consider what is best to be doon herin. God, I trust, will prosper the same. The papists stand in greate feare. I am requyred to make the dukes and therles very hartie commendacions to you bothe, with many thanks. There desier is, that it will please Mr Secretarie to write to thimbassadour that is in Fraunce, that he lett therle of Ar-raynes lieutenant * undrestand, that he must leave Fraunce as soon as he can. Since Nesbot went from hence, the duke never harde oute of Fraunce, nor newes of his soon the lord David. † To suche as are curious to know the cause of my beyng here, it is saide that I dare not retourne into England for the quenes majesties displeasure, beyng known that I have byn in company with therle of Arrain. Tharchbishop of St Andrews castell shalbe this daye taken be the protestants. The bishop of Glasgos ‡ coffers were yesterday serched, but no money founde. To morrowe an abbey of tharchbishop shall be visited. The lord Semples daughter, whome he hathe loved so long, sueth to marie him. She is presentlie here. Her father will not promes what parte he will take. Thus, with my most humble commendacions, I take my leave, desiering no lesse pleasure to Mr Railton in decifering his

* That is, the lieutenant who commanded the French king's Scottish guard under the earl of Arran, their captain.

† Lord David Hamilton, fourth son of the duke of Chatelherault, who died without issue.

‡ James Bethune, the last catholic bishop of Glasgow. He was probably at present with the queen-dowager; and if so, never returned to his diocese, but left Scotland when the French forces evacuated Leith, in 1560, and transported the records of his church to Paris, where he deposited them in the Scottish college. He died at Paris in 1603.

owne new invented ortographie then I have had in writing of it.
Writen at Hamilton, the xijth of Oct. 1559.

Yours to commaunde,

THOMAS BARNABY, i. e. RANDOLPH.

Therle of Arrain desiereth you to send this lettre, or the copie therof, to Mr Secretarie, with his hartie commendacions.

Mr Railton, I praye you travail with sir Rafe Sadleir to be a meane to sir James Croft for him that was his constable, whome I heare to be in displeasure. *Vive et vale.* T. B.

No. LXXXI.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

We do perceyve by your lettres of the vth of this present, that *Overton* is depeched thens with iij m. (L. 3000,) being right glad to understande that the matter is so well considered there. We have thought mete to advertise you of such intelligence as we have. The regent hathe written to the duke, reproving him for ioyning with the lords of the congregacion, and charging them with practises made with the quenes majestie. And yet the messenger which went with her lettres had credit to talke of agrement, and to offer the stay of the fortifieng at Legh, libertie for all men to use their conscience frely in religion, and the French to departe by a day. Wherunto the duke answered, that he coulde do nothing without the lords of the congregacion; and so, as we here, he dismissed the messenger without any hope that they intended to herken to any new condycions of agrement, for that tholde have ben afore so sclenderly perfourmed.

La Brosse and the bishop of Amyens wrote also a gentill lettre to the saide duke, requiring him, in the king and quenes name of Scot-

lande, to be at Edinburgh the vijth of October, which he hath refused. And likewise the rest of the lords of the congregacion have ben somoned by the regent to be there the same day, to here the commission of the saide bishop and La Brosse; wherof they made none accompt at all, but answered, that so long as any French souldours remayned in Scotland in garrison, they wolde not hasarde themselves in her credite; and that ðneles she wolde desist from the fortificacion of Legh, and sende awaye her French men, they wolde not take her for a mother of theyr commonwelth. The lord Erskyn, we understonde, hath promised to kepe the castell of Edynburgh, and as it is thought woll remayn as neuter for a tyme. We cannot here that the protestants woll come forwards soner then was appoynted, although for our parts we have used all the meanes and persuasions we coulde to procure and hasten them thereunto. For in our opynyons they have lost moch tyme, and the French therby have taken advantage in the forfeiting of Legh, which at the begynning might well have ben impeched. But, as we understonde, there hath ben very extreme and foule wether in the west and north parts of Scotland, by reason whereof they be farre behynde with their harvest, which is the cause of their delay. The brute is gret, nevertheles, of their assemblies in greate nombres, and now they be undoubtedly comyng forwards to mete altogether at their day appoynted, and moch talke there is of the good courage and forwardness in this matier of therle of Arrayn, who, as they say, rydeth to and from Hamylton, Stirling, and Saint Andrewes, with vij or viij^c horse, whereof they say be iij^c of the name of the Hamyltons.

The regent sayd of late to a gentilman, from whom we understonde it, that the congregacion at the first did ryse for matier of religion, but now she seeth they shote at a nother marke, and that the duke and his soon meane to usurpe the crowne of Scotlande, wherein she wool defende her daughters right as she may; and therefore she sayed, that having no power to take the felde, she, for the safetie of the poure Frenchmen which be with her, doth fortifie Legh, intending

to remayne there, and doubtith not to kepe it till more ayde do com to her, which she loketh for out of Fraunce. She sayeth it is well victualled, and made very strong, which were strange, to be don in so shorte a tyme as they have ben about it. But in dede she hathe conveyed all that she hathe out of Holy Rodehouse into Legh, and the French lykewise; and when the protestants com nerer, she myndeth to repayre thither, and from thens, if nede requyre, to Inchkyth. She is surely in grete perplexite, and also is very weake and sickely, so that as som thinke she can not long contynew. We be certeynly advertised that Randall is safely arryved at Hamylton, from whom we loke howerly for som advertisements. As we shall have any wourthie your knowledge, you shall have them with diligence. And so we wishe aswell to you as to ourselfs. From Berwyk, &c. Oct. xij. 1559.

No. LXXXII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

We have receyved a lettre in cipher from Randall, alias Barnabe,* which we have dessiphered, and the copie thereof do sende unto you herewith. By the same you shall perceyve amongst other things, that within x dayes the larde of Lydington and he will repayre hither secretly in post, but for what purpose, or whither he shalbe dyrected to the quenes majestie with any lettres or commission from the duke, and other the lords of the congregacion, we can not tell. Thus, &c. 14 Oct. 1559.

* See the Letter, p. 497.

No. LXXXIII.

My Lord WHARTON to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

After my most hartly comendacions unto you. I have resaved your two several letters, for the wych I gyff unto you my most hartly thanks. My servant taker of the young layrd off Coldyngknowes is not presently with me, and therfore I have sent this berer, my servant, to know your plesur anempst the prisoner: my servant shall obey your order therin. I hertely thanke you for your favor shewed to my co-syns, sir Thomas Dacre, and to his son, wo cam by me in his jorney towards the court. I am credible informed that the lord Dacre ayth appoynted to take hes jorney towerds the quens magestie from Rarlesle this day, about his therupon in thes partes, that his lordship wylle leve his offece, and hyt his sade that I make sut to have the sam, theyroff his trustie servants we thinke speketh. And as I dow desyer in my hert to serve the quenes hyhgnes, and in her magesties serves to spend my lyfe, evenso dow I trust that you wyll be on off my wyttnesses, to say that I never did make sut therfore. I know myn awn debelite mane wayes to be suche, as I am not able to serve worthely in so grete a charge, and presently his greter then ever hyt was wythin the memore of any person levyng. Watt grete charge offenders on marches ar, your wysdom can well juge; and I have just cause, upon expereance, to remembre the cayrfull travell and payns that aught to be takyn in the prynces serves there. I dow here by wyse mens reports, that the west marches hath not byn in suche dysorder mane yers. Hyt his sayde to me, that there hath beyn more attemptayts down by Yngles men sythens the taking of thebstenence, then was down by anowence agaynst thenimes duryng the tym of the leist war. Hyt is also sade, that thos subjekts are not abyll to make redresse, according to the custom of the marches in peax, and that sondre of them wyll rather flee the realm then to be compelled to dow

that wyche the princes by there treteys ar bounden to dow. The sufferance of thes wyll requier a good auctorete, wyth power, and wyth a more charge, to compell these subjektes to obedience. I have seyne dow good serves. I dow wyshe my sellf wyth you two days, bot my bode, after long sekeness and sum descomford, his not able as yett to take mucche trawell. Yf there be any thyng I have or may dow to plesur you, I hartely desyer that you wyll command the sam, wyche shall be rede. And so wyll I comytte you to the gowernance of Almyghty God. Att my powre hows of Whartton, the xvj of Octobre.

Sir, I desyer you to gyff credence to this berer my serwant, and that you wyll take payn to rede this mine ewell wrytting and trubulus letter. Wyth the hand of your hold acquaintance, and

frend to my power,

assuredly,

THOMAS WHARTTON.

No. LXXXIV.

Mr GOWER to Sir JAMES CROFT.

Pleasethe it you, sir, to be advertysched, that thes berers, John Wyldeng and John Stodart, mester Boyar and mester Fletcher, of thoffis of the ordynans in the northe, who hathe longe sarved the sayd and as you, sir, knowythe, that when I had dischardge of artyfecers, and my sarvandes, the last of June, they were in the same dischardge, whereoppon they did travyll to my lords of the consell for ther relefe, whose honars hathe wryten to you and sir Raufe Sadlar in ther favor, witche lettar I delyvered unto hem and you, besetching you, sir, to shew your favor in the helpe of them, who be bothe honest and perfect in ther syence, and well to be lyked for ther behavior, of ther trouthe in usyng the sayd chardge, they ar made to understond that they shall have allowans for no wadgis butt as they sarve or worke, wytche wyll not be sof-

feshent for them to leve on, and I trest your consyderashon wyll presently be better, for that of this syde London is none that can sarve that lyke them, if nede should stand sodenly att any tyme. Also here is come agane a pore man who sarvyd here tyll the sayd dischargge, as master colarmakar, and is nott yett stayd, if it plesyd you to helpe hem with som stay if ther be no alowans in thoffis, I theynk it were well done, for that here is none to be had of that syens. I can not butt wryte for my ould fellowys, and so take my leve from Newcastle, this xviiijth of October, 1559.

Yours ever att comandment,

C. GOWER.

No. LXXXV.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Your last lettres come to my hand wer dated the xiiijth, so as by the next I trust to understand more certenly of thyngs there enterprised sence the xvth. All men of judgment thynk suerly that the quene dowager shall utterly weary hir ennemyes, who having no grete ordynance, shall in vayne besege Lyth. And suerly if they obteyne not there wills shortly, the ayde that is in comming shalbe hable to mete with them in the felde. It is most certeyn that there be in redynes iiij^m. (4000) soldiers, wherof the chieff conductor shalbe Damp Martyn, a man of grete knoledge, whose brothern was slayne at Perone. The shippes in Newhaven* be reddey for there embarquyng. There be good disposed people in that towne, that gyve knoledg to the quene there that yow, sir James Croft, shuld helpe to conduct out of that towne the erle of Arrayne, wherof, when the ambassador made complaint to hir majesty, it was easely answered by hir majesty, first,

* Newport.

that she thought certainly this tale was invented by some seditiose persone; next, she marvelled that such a matter cold be thought of a man of your knoledg, who, if ye wer disposed to have ayded the erle into his contrey, yet wold ye not have committed such a folly, as to have manifested your owne person in such a case, and therfore hir majesty required the ambassador to have better consideration than to credit these fond tales grownded of jelosy.

Here is the duke of Fynland,* who, on his brothers behalf, sheweth hym self very politique to furder the suyte. He is very curteose, and yet princely liberall, and yet in thyngs necessary. Well spoken in the Latten tonge. How he shall spede God knoweth, and not I.

We here that the archduke of Austria is one the waye hitherward, not with any pompe, but rather as he maye seme by post in stelth. The king of Spayne is earnest for hym. What maye come tyme will shortly shewe. I wold to God hir majesty had one, and the rest honorably satisfied.† The conte Mansfeld, which came from the duke of Saxe, is become the quenes majesties pentioner, and shall have 2000 crowns pension. He is bound to bryng 4000 footemen, and 500 horsemen uppon occasion. It appereth by ‡ *Randall's lettres*, that the larde of *Ledington* meaneth to come *secretly*, but whyther I perceyve not; if it be hyther, *there* must be *greate secreacie used*, for suerly here is to good spyall for the French. Of late ij French soldyors and a Scott were taken abowt Trekford, suspitiously, without passport. One of the French had a packett of the French ambassadors, and beside had uppon hym certen crystall beads, and other trynketts, which he had stollen here in London, as it fell out uppon his own confession. They be all

* John, duke of Finland, brother to Eric, king of Sweden. He came on his brother's behalf, to solicit the hand of queen Elizabeth. He was received at court, according to Stowe, on 5th October, and returned homewards a little before Easter.

† The king of Spain having himself resigned thoughts of queen Elizabeth's hand, instigated his uncle the emperor Ferdinand to offer one of his sons to her in marriage.

‡ Written in a cypher.

apprehended; but I thynk the other ij shal be suffred to depart, and the French theeffe shalbe kept in prison. Thus I end. From Westminster, the 20 of October. I am desirous to here of Overtons saffe arryvall thither.

I pray you add to your ciphre these thyngs following: *—Newhaven, navy, west seas, est seas, lord of, Mr of, Dunbarr, Inskeyth.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. LXXXVI.

Sir R. SADLER and Sir J. CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

Albeit we have had none advertisement from Randall sithens we last dispatched the copie of his lettres unto you of the xijth of this present, ne yet from Balnaves, ne otherwise from the lords of the congregacion, whereof we marvaile; yet because we iudge that you be now in contynuall expectacion to here how thes matiers here do speede, we have thought it but the post's labour to convey this unto you, onely to let you understande, that we have intelligence by our espiells for ceretyn, that the duke and his soon, with dyvers other of the lords of the congregacion, on Wenisdaye at night last, arryved at Edynburgh, their hole power not being yet altogether assembled there, and the regent with the Frensh all retired from Holyrode house and the suburbs of Edingburgh into Legh, which being fortifyed as you have harde, they thinke to kepe and defende till they shall have more ayde. We here that the lords of the congregacion do call a parliament, and have somond all the gentilmen in the Merse and Tevydale here uppon the

* Characters to design added.

frontiers to com to Edinburgh fourthwith, uppon payn of their allegiance. What woll be thende hereof is uncerteyn; but assone as we have any certen advertisements, we shall dispeche the same unto you with all diligence.

Overton arrived here with the 3000^{lb}. the 15 of this present.

It maye lyke you to be a suter to the quenes majestie for Mres Elizabeth Bowis,* the widowes licence to repaire into Scotland, and the same obteyned, to send downe hither to us by post, and we shall see it delivered to here accordingly. October the 20, 1559.

No. LXXXVII.

RANDALL to Sir R. SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT. †

I have received bothe your lettres, and doon according to your commandements. It maye please you to knowe, that I am yet uncertain when I shall com, or who in my companye. For Lidington is gon with the regent to Lythe, advised therunto for summe good purpose, as it is sayed. It was intended that he shulde have gon to the quenes majestie, which purpose doothe yet remayne. His message shall he to offer the quenes majestie the will and desier of the nobles, to ioine with her majestie in amitie, with request also of her ayde. Before any may com, you shall have knowledge if I can possible. Of commen matters I write nothing, for that this berer can not be so ignorant, but he can reaporte what he hathe seene. I leave therfore suche things to his reaporte. I have seen the platt of Lythe, and vied the same myselfe, as neare as I durst. Assure your honors it is very strong, bothe by arte and situacion, well victualled by reaporte, but sklenderlie manned for so large a place. They shew themselves stowte ynoughe,

* The mother of John Knox.

† The whole of this letter is written in a cypher.

what soever they thinke. The other, for theyr knowledge and abilitie, doo what they can. They have chosen a counsell, by whose authoritie all things are doon. I see all men so bent against her, that I see many must be undoon to save summe.

Therle of Arrayn and therle of Argile desier to be dooyng. The lord Maxwell hathe no small credit among them. I have spoken with therles of Argyle, Glencarne, and the prior of St Andrewes; the effect was no other but to recommend their service to the quenes majestie, with other discourse of these present affaires.

Because the regent had caused a proclamacion to be set fourthe, and many men beleve that she sought more than the pretended cause, the duke and the lords of the congregacion upon Wennisdaye last made proclamacion to the contrarie; the copie wherof, and of all things ells, I woll bring at my commyng. They have chosen a counsell of these men following for all matters of pollicie:—The duke, therle of Arrayne, therle of Argile, the prior of St Andrewes, therle of Glencarn, the lord Ruthen, * lord Boid, † the lorde Maxwell, lord Dune, lorde of Patarrow, ‡ Balnaves, Kircaldie, the provost of Dundie. For matters of religion, the bishopp of Galloway, § Knox, Mr Goodman of England, for whose name it maye please you to use this (a ciphre), for that I shall have occasion to write of him. Therle of Arran brought him unto me, and spake of him verie muche in the name of

* Patrick, third lord Ruthven, the same who was so active in the murder of Rizzio, or, to use John Knox's phrase, "who prudently gave counsel to take justice on that knave Davie; a stout man," adds the reformer, "and discreet in the cause of God." Being banished with the other perpetrators of that brutal assassination, he died at Berwick.

† Robert, fourth lord Boyd.

‡ Wisheart of Pittarow, the chief of that name, and a great favourer of the Reformation.

§ Alexander Gordon, formerly bishop of the Isles. He was second son to John, master of Huntley, by a natural daughter of king James IV. The pope had previously conferred on him the title of archbishop of Athens, which he retained even after he embraced the reformed doctrine. He was translated to the see of Galloway upon the death of bishop Durie, in September 1558. He sided with the queen's faction, and was suspended by the General Assembly; notwithstanding which he retained his benefice, and formally bequeathed it to his son on his death-bed, in 1576.

the lords of the congregacion, tending to this effect, that the quenes majestie shulde not be offended with the favor that he shall receyve here. He himselfe is readie to doo what service he can. The fourthe in this matier is Ullock. Thies 3 last preached before the lords of the congregacion in Edinburgh, and so continew from daye to daye exhorting the peple to folowe the doctrine of Christ, and to seke amitie with suche as arre most faithfull.

This daye beyng the 21, after the sermone Mr Balnaves cam and requeryed me to write unto your honors as here foloweth. The 18 of Oct. we cam to Edinburgh withoute impedement, and the 19 wrote a lettre to the regent, who went the daye before to Lythe: the substance of the lettre was, that she shoulde cause incontinent the Frenche departe from Lythe. And because she wolde presently give no answer by the bearer, but sought to protract tyme, the xx of this instant wee sent a trumpett to requyer answer withoute further delaye. And forasmuche as in all her dooyngs she seketh nothing but to protract tyme, we intend shortlie to proclayme her enemye to the commen wealthe for suche causes as shall be alledged; and that the government shall be used by the counsell already chosen, wherof the duke and therle of Arrain are principall. Item, To mayntayne this matter, we cannot kepe our companyes together, howbeit the nobles remayne. Therefore we thinke no fewer than 3000 footemen, and 300 horsemen, necessarie to be kept for 3 monethes, to recover Lythe again; wherfore it wolde please our freends, with all possible diligence, to hast hither money for the payment of these souldiers for the saide tyme, or at the least for 2 monethes; and if this be not spedilie answered, it shall repent us and our freends bothe, for good will is in us, but our power is not to furnishe accordingly. And assure their honors in my name, the lyttell money I brought with me hathe servid more to these effects then if they had bestowed themselves five thousand pounds, as the dede hathe shewed from the begynnyng. Item, It is concluded the xxj of this present, with the consent of the lords of the congregacion, nobles and barons assembled, that the regent shall be deposed,

and this to be proclaymed upon Mondaye, which is the 23. The hope of all concord this daye is taken awaye, by reason that blood is drawn largely, on every side. Thus muche have I charge of Mr Balnaves to write.

This daye it was concluded in counsell, that there should be levied three thousand men more, and every nobleman to contribute to his habilitie, and to give any adventure they can to expell the Frenche, wherunto I see them so inclyned, that I thinke it not possible for them long to remayne.

Kircaldie in hast cam unto me, to requyer me, from the lords of the congregacion, to dispatche this berer with suche credit as he hathe to saye, desiering you to lend them summe powder oute of hand. The rest I referre for lack of tyme, most humblie taking my leave. 22 Oct. an°. 59. *Hora tercia.*

No. LXXXVIII.

*The Lords of the Congregacion to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JA^s. CROFT.**

It may please your honors, I have receyved commandement of the lords of the congregacion here present, to put in writing these lynes following. This Mondaye, the 22 of October, was the douagier deprived from her authoritie by comen consent of all lords and barons here present. Her deprivation we openlie proclaymed, her officers inhibited to exequite any thing in her name. She, her Frenche, and assistance, were further denounced enemyes to this comen wealthe. A counsell is erected, wherof the duke and therle of Arrain are chief hed. These things, togither with our further request, we have thought good to signefie to the quenes majestie; but bicause we wolde doo nothing withoute your honors advises, we have sent this berer for

* This letter is written in a cypher.

knowledge of your myndes, counsell, and opinions, requyering your aunswer with expedicion possible. Farther, of necessitie we must have mo souldiars, to the nombre of twoo or three thousand, for the assault of Lythe. We are presentlie taking upp of them, but we lacke money, which we must at this tyme as it were crave of your favors present relief. Farther, we stande in nede of powder, as well for culverons as harquebuts; for the sending wherof, we hartelie praye you to take ordre with expedicion. Pleasith your honors to hasten this berer, for we have neade of counsell and support. The lords of the congregacion, 24 Oct. an°. 1559.

Thus muche have I writen by the commandement of the lords, wherof they desier a favorable aunswer, and so did therle of Arrayn will me to wryte.

No. LXXXIX.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JA^s. CROFT to Mr Secretarie CECILL.

SIR,

We wolde be loth to be noted necligent or slouthfull in writing, and therefore, having none advertisement at all, neyther by Randall ne any others, from the protestants, nor of their intents and proceedings syns their arryvall at Edinburgh, whereof we do not a litle marvail, we have nevertheless thought it not amisse to occupie the posts with such matier as we can gett by espiells and otherwise by commen brute; that is, that as we wrote in our last lettres, the duke and his soon, with sondry other lords, as the priour of St Andrews, therles of Glen carn, and Cassells, Mounteth, * Eglinton, &c. the lord Rithvan, the lord Maxwell, &c. with v m. (5000) horse, as they say, arryved at Edynburgh

* William Graham, fifth earl of Menteith.

on Wenesday the xvijth of this present, and as it is said, after them came jiii m. (4000) fotemen, which they have in wages, with a gret nombre besids, bruted in the hole to be above x m. (10000). And also they say, that on Saterday last therle of Argile arryved there with v m. (5000). This we here; but we woll not wryte it for gospell that their power is so grete, albeit it is comenly sayed that they be aboute xv or xvj thousand men, which is lyke ynough to be trew. We here nothing of therle of Huntley more then you know alredy; but som say, that his eldest son, the lord Gorden, * is at Edynburgh with the protestants, and therle of Morton also. We have it confirmed by sondry reports, that sythens the protestants arryvall at Edynburgh, there have ben dyvers hote skyrmyshes betwixt them and the French, and many hurte and slayn on both sydes, † and that Kyrkaldye is evill hurte with the shotte of tharkebuss thorough the left shoulder, and a French captayn of good reputacion slayn. So that now the fray is begon, and being thus farre entered in bloodde on both parts, we think it can not be sone staunched. The quenes majestie hath more for her ii m^{lb}. (2000 l.) then her highness father could obteyn for vj m. (6000). Whether they woll assaulte the town of Legh or not, we can not tell; but you know the Scotts can clyme no walles. We trust within a day or two to advertise you of their doings more certenly. And because Randall writeth not, we iudge that he wolbe the first messenger himself. 24 Oct. 1559.

* George lord Gordon, afterwards fifth earl of Huntley, and a keen partizan of queen Mary. The report concerning him seems to have proved apocryphal.

† Knox says, that "defyance given, there was skirmishing without great slaughter." *Hist. edit.* 1732, p. 187.

No. XC.

RANDALL *to Sir R. SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.**

The absence of the lorde Lydinton hath caused thes lordes to be very uncerteyn whom they may sende in this matier. Som thought Balnaves fittest. Kyrcaidie stayed that uppon my mocyon. † Now they ar resolved to sende the lorde of Patarrow. They desyre herein greate hast, and wolde have had him departe oute of hand, for they saye, that if it were knowen that England woulde take parte, the hole countrey wolde folowe. I assure your honors, hitherto they have had good successe. It is thought that the douagier will to-morrow to Inchkeith. Many of the Frenche daylie steale awaye, and 4 or 5 hanged that wer taken goyng. They are at their diet, ‡ which we heare is verie spare, and her freends werie few. What men shall iudge of therle of Huntly, it is uncertain, yet his promes is fayre, and he looked for here very shortlie. The lordes here wishe hartelie for summe of your souldiars. You maye doo the erle of Arrain a greate pleasure to send him a tergett. We hoped to have sent you the proclamacion, which, for lacke of tyme, is diferred; suche as we have present, we have sent, trusting, that when I com myselfe, to bring with me in writing a full discourse of all that hathe been doon syns my arrivall. Your honors shall receyve a lettre from Knox, who made me privie to the same. I spared not to open unto him the estate of our countrey, which I thought reason to waye as ther owne, and so to deale with us, that in the begynnyng there be no mislykyng in their request. § Their hope is greate,

* The whole is written in cipher.

† The objection of queen Elizabeth's agents seems to have been to the Calvinistical, and, possibly, republican principles of Balnaves.

‡ *i. e.* reduced to an allowance of food.

§ This seems to imply, that he warned Knox so to couch the request of the lords of the congregation, that the granting of the succours prayed for, should not appear contrary to the articles of the peace in 1548.

and their neade of good souldiars no lesse then they have written. Most humblie I take my leave. From Edinburgh, 25. Oct. an° 59. It may please your honors, to cause theis inclosed to be sent to the quenes majestie. I maye be bolde to lett your honors knowe, that they are to open in all their dooyngs.

No. XCI.

Sir R. SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT, to RANDALL alias BARNABIE.

Your lettres of the 22. of this present, cam to our hands the xxvth of the same, whereby you may perceyve that the messenger made no grete haste. We have fourthwith dispatched your saide lettres to the court, and such answer as we shall receyve from thens, touching the money you write of, and the rest, we shall signefie unto you as sone as we can. But now to say our poure mynds and opynyons unto you; surely all men of iudgement thinke that the regent shall utterly wearye the lords of the congregacion, and that if they obtayn not their willes, and expell the French out of Legh very shortely, the ayde that is comyng to the saide regent out of Fraunce, shalbe able to mete them in the felds; for it is most certen that there be iiij m. (4000) souldiours, whereof the chief conductour is Damp Marten, a man of grete knowlege, whose brother was slayn at Perone, which were the xx of this moneth redy to embarke at Newhaven, [Nieuport] and woll arryve at Legh with such spede as wynde and wether will serve them, which we pray you to declare unto the duke, and such others as you shall thinke good; for surely the matier is not to be neglected, but to be weyed and depely considered by them, as we doubt not but they woll have such regard thereto as aperteyneth. And we cannot thinke that Legh can be made so strong in so shorte a tyme as the French have ben about it, as it can be able tabyde any sharpe assault. Wherefore we wishe that tyme be not pretermitted whills it serveth; for if Legh be not taken,

and the French expelled, before the new ayde shall arryve there, surely it wolbe to late afterwards to go about it. We pray you make our humble comendacions to the duke and his son, to whom we wishe as good successe in this matier as themselves can desyre. You may tell Balnaves that we have had no lettres from him but one, syns he was here with us, and yet he promised us to write from tyme to tyme. Fynally, we pray you, wryte as often as you may, and lett us know what is the part of therles of Huntley and Morton in this gret matier, with such other occurrents as you shall thinke mete. 25. Oct. 1559.

No. XCII.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretarie CECILL.

It may like you to understond, that your lettres of the xx we receyved the xxvth of this present, and the same day we receyved lettres in cipher from Randall, which we have dissiphered, and sende the copie thereof herewith unto you, praying you to let us understonde the quenes majesties pleasure as shortely as may be what we shall answer touching their request for more ayde of money, wherein it seemeth we shalbe earnestly pressed. For other occurrents, we understonde by the messenger that brought the saide lettres, that like as we wrote to you, there have bene dyvers skyrmisshes betwixt the protestants and the French, which daylie do contynew; with also nightly alarmes given to the French at Legh, and dyvers hurt and slayn on both sides; but Kyrkaldy hath no such hurt as we wrote of, which arose of a nother Scottishman that was in dede hurte in the same sorte as we did wryte, and before that Kyrkaldy slew a French man, whereby the protestants had the first bloodde, which they do take for good lucke. Therle of Huntley remayneth at home in his countrey; but his soon, as they say, is comming to the protestants with iiij^c (4000) horse, and James Macconell, whom the regent heretofore stirred against therle of Argile, is also

commyng to them with vij^c (700) fotemen. Therle Morton lyeth at his house of Dalketh, within iij myles of Edynburgh, and somtyme repayreth thither, of whom the protestants make a certen accompt to be theyrs. We intende, because we woll understonde their doings more certainly, to sende Mr Drury secretely to Edynburgh, to som trustie man, by whose meanes he shall understonde and see what they do. We have also given him instructions to view Legh, and as he shall see occasion, to give advice to our secret frends how they may at best advantage assaulte the towne, wherein we suppose him to have good understanding. We have presently written to Randall requyring him to declare to the lords of the congregacion what ayde is now commyng out of France with Dampmarten, and so have we not letted sondry tymes heretofore by such meanes as we coulde, and also by speciall lettres to Randall, to admonishe them of such power as, from tyme to tyme, we harde was comyng agenst them, both with the marques Delboof, and also the duke Daumaile, and advised them to consider what hurte they might receyve by theyr protracte of tyme. And if they wolde have folowed our advise, they shoulde not have suffred Legh to be fortified, but or this should have well accomplished their enterprise, which, nevertheles, as it semeth, they have moch neglected, orells have had such impedymment as they coulde no soner assemble theyr power.

And* where it appereth in your lettres of the xxth of this present, that som good disposed people of this toune, have given knowlege to the regent, that I sir James Croft, shoulde helpe to conduct therle of Arrayn out of this towne, whereof we percyve the French ambassadour there hath complayned; I have thought good to let you understonde, that for trewth, neyther did the saide erle com within this toune, ne yet did I set one fote out of dores with him to conduct him into his cuntry; and as it chanced about the same tyme, did the duke, his father, sende to me a messenger, requiring me that I wolde shew my favour to

* What follows is also sir R. Sadler's, though in the name of sir J. Croft.

his son, and that if he shoulde happen to arryve here, I wolde advertise him thereof, to thintent he might provide for his safe conveyance into Scotland; whereunto because I wolde the better colour the matier, I answered, that I neyther knew of the commyng of his son, ne yet if he did com, wolde I have to do with him, and therefore required him not to trust me in that behalf; which answer, nevertheles, therle of Arrayn was pryvey unto. But, touching his conveyance, the trewth is, that I caused him to be secretly put out of the castell, over the water in the night, where a gentleman by our appoyntement receyved him, and so rode with him over the waste ground, and under the hills of Cheviot, into Tivydale, and there delyvered him about i or ij o' clock in the morning to a Scottish gentelman, being a dere frende of the saide erles, who from thens conveyed him to Hamylton. The matier we dare say, was so secretly handled, that hitherto none of the saide ij gentilmen are either knowen or suspected to have had the doing of the same. Ne yet can any of them all, which be most suspicious of this matier, tell certainly which way, ne how, the saide erle cam into Scotland.

Mary, we have one man vehemently suspected, and, may be, that he hath given the saide regent such knowlege as she hath of this matier, and that is one Thomas Claveryng, fermour of the demaines of Norham, dwelling in the castell there; for this we know, that he hath ben very quesitif, as secretly as he coulede, (and yet not so secretly but that we do understande it,) how and which way the saide erle passed, inso-moche as he got knowlege of his passing thorough Alnewyck. Som thinke he is, and hath ben, a gud spie for the regent, wherewith we cannot charge him, and yet we write it, not without some cause of suspicion; and, besides that, we cannot praise his honestie in other things; but whether he be a spie or not, it were not amysse that he dwelt further from the border; and an honest man in his place at Norham, which is now made a ferme-holde, employed all to profite, and not used, as we have knowen it heretofore, lyke a fortesse.* Such disorder is not onely

* Thomas Claveryng held the fortress and demesnes of Norham in farm, from sir Henry Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland.

therein, but in many other things, in this countrey, for lacke of good government, whereof we wishe a good reformation. 25. Oct. 1559.

No. XCIII.

Sir R. SADLER and Sir J. CROFT, to RANDALL.

We have receyved your lettres of the 24 and 25 of this present, with such other lettres and writings as you sent with the same by this berer, which we have dispatched to the courte with all spede, trusting, right shortly, to receyve from thens som good answer. And, in the meane tyme, forasmuche as the lords of the congregacion desyre to have our advises in thes their greate and weightie affaires, you may say unto them, that as we be no lesse desirous then they ar themselves of their good spede and happie successe in the same, so because we understonde not thoroughlie their state and condycion, ne of what force and power they be to accomplishe theyr intended enterprise, we cannot give them so good advise as we desyre, but their honourable, stoute, and wise proceedings syns their arryvall at Edynburgh, we must neds comende and allowe; onely we feare, that their protract of tyme may be very daungerous unto them, if the ayde which the regent howerly loketh for out of Fraunce do arryve with her before they can recover Legh, and expell the French, which now possesse the same; and therefore it is most expedyent for them to wey and consider, whether it be best for them to assaile their enemyes whills they be weake, and as we think their fortesse not strong, or ells to abyde the daungier that may insue when thenemye shalbe reenforced with a greter power.* And what courage their enemyes may receyve when their power shalbe increased,

* In these repeated exhortations to attack Leith by storm, the English officers seem to have both forgotten the rude and undisciplined nature of a feudal militia, who, as they themselves said, p. 514, could climb no walls, and (what they afterwards learned by experience) the strength of a fortified town defended by veteran soldiers.

and how moche it woll discourage the partie of the congregacion, and make their power fall from them, to their no litle daungier, we doubt not but they can consider, and we do wyshe that they may well forsee the same. Nevertheless, for that we knowe not so well as they themselves what they be able to do, we must referre it to their own determination and iudgement.

Forthermore, whereas we do understonde, that dyvers of the French soldeours in Legh do stele away, and many mo wolde, if they might passe safely; we thinke it were no evill polycie by som meanes to let them understonde, that as many as wolde departe shoulde have free passage, without hurt or dangier, which percase might be a good meane to weaken their power.

Fynally, touching the lords requests for money and powder, we trust they woll consider what we may do therein, and if we may helpe and relieve their want in such secret maner as were expedient both for them and us; you may assure them of all that we can do in that behalf, but we see not how we may sende them powder without an open shew and manifestacion of ourselves to be as enemyes to the French, being now in amyte with us. And yet, if they can devise which way the same might be secretley conveyed unto them, in such sorte as it coulde not be knowen to com from us, we coulde be well content they had so moche as may be spared from hens convenyently. And lykewise for money, we be in good hope to have such answer from the courte or it be long, as we trust shalbe to satisfie som parte of their desyre in that behalf, so they woll use such secresie therein as the importaunce of the matier doth require; praying you to advise them on our behalf to be more close and secret in their doings, and specially of theyr conferences with us than we understonde they are, or ells it may turne to their losse and detriment.*

* Hitherto the letter is written by Sir Ralph; what follows by Sir James.

Tell the erle of Arrain, that I, the capteyn of Barwick, have for him in a readines a fayre morian and a targett, which I wolde he had, but he must provide one to convey the same unto him secretlie, and lyke-wise for all other things which they requyer of us. 27 Oct. 1559.

No. XCIV.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT, to Mr Secretarie CECILL.

Yesternight we receyved lettres in cipher from Randall, with others from therle of Arrayn, alias Beaufort, to the quenes majestie, to you and to us, and also certen other writings which we sende you hereinclosed, prayeng you, that upon consideracion of the same, we may be dyrected from thens with spede, how we shall answer their desyres in such sorte as to your wisdomes there shalbe thought convenyent; for now you may see gret likelihood what this matier well growe unto. We have, in the meane season, thought good to put them in som hope of suche relief as with honour and secresie may be ministred unto them; and also have given them such advise as we have thought best for thassault and surprise of Legh, before theyr enemyes be reenforced with the new ayde and powr which is loked for to arryve with Damp Marten; but surely we thinke if they be not relieved and supported by the quenes majestie, their poure being such as it is, they must be forced to desist, and leave of their enterprise to their owne confusion, and by her highnes ayde they may achieve the same yet in the ende. As farre as we can see, her highnes must either open and manifest herself on that syde, or ells they shall not be hable to wrastle and stryve against the power of Fraunce, wherein we be bolde to say our poure mynds as men which, from the bottom of our herts, do wyshe and desyre the stablishment of thes ij realmes in perpetuall unyte and concorde; the lyke oportunyte whereof that is now offered, we thinke we shall not lyve to see if this be pretermitted. The consideracion

whereof we do referre to the wisdom and depe iudgement of those to whom it chiefly aperteyneth, which can more depely wey it, and decerne and see further in the same then our poure witts can arreche.

You shall receyve, amongst the rest, a lettre from Knox to Mr Rayleton, who before wrote to him to get som knowledge of the Scottish greate seale, which you lately wrote of unto us shoulde be sent out Fraunce; and now you shall perceyve what the saide Knox writeth of the same, which, as he termeth it in his lettres, he calleth a jewell, and by the things ingraved in the staf he writeth of, sent to the regent from her son and daughter of Fraunce, he meaneth the armes of England, Fraunce, and Scotlande. 27 Oct. 1559.

No. XCV.

*Sir JAMES CROFT to KNOX.**

I have receyved your lettres of the 25, for answer whereunto, albeit, for myn own part, I coulde be well content to satisfie your hole requests with as good will as you seme to desyre it; yet can I not but mervaille, that you, being a wise man, woll require of us such present ayde of men, money, and amunycion, as we cannot minister unto you without an open shew and manifestacion of our selfs to be as open enemyes, where as you know by leag and treatie we be bounde to be frends; prayeng you to consider how we may, without touche of honour and hurte of our commenwealth, being now in good peax and amytie, enter sodenly into open warre and hostylite, being no cause of breche, no manyfest injury offred unto us. And how I, being but a servaunt and mynister here, may presume to do that you desyre, tending to a playne breche of amyte between so greate princes whom it toucheth, I referre to your discession; for as to your devises how to

* The hand writing is Sir Rafe Sadler's.

colour our doings in that parte, you must thinke that the worlde is not so blynde, but that it woll sone espie the same. And surely we can not *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matier, but that it woll be expounded to a playn breche of our leage and treatie, whereby the honour of the prynce can not be a litle touched; wherefore I pray you requyre that of us which we may do with honour and safetie, and you shall not fynde us unwilling.

And touching the supporte of such as you have often written for, I coulde fynde the meanes that they might have some relief at theyr frends hands here, if I knew how the same might be conveyed unto them in such secret and close maner, as none others have notice and knowlege of the same. But, to be playn with you, ye are so open in your doings, as you make men half affrayed to deale with you, which is more than wisdom and polycie doth requyre.

Fynally, where you wryte that Fraunce laboureth to make us utterly refuse you, and that the queen douagier there hath playnely spoken, that she knoweth the meanes how to frustrate your expectacion of our supporte by delyveraunce of Calice, I dare boldely say, that there is no such matier in treatie, ne yet in question; for you may be sure that Calice can not make us to neglect or refuse the establishment of this island in perpetuell unyte and concorde, wishing to lyve no longer then to see the same, and so to leave the ioye thereof to our posterite. For the rest, I referre you to such lettres as we send at this tyme by this berer. 27 Oct. 1559.

No. XCVI.

The Lorde WHARTON to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

After moost hartie comendacions. I have sent unto you my servaunt Wylliam Storie, to receyve your order anempst the taykyng of James

Hom* presoner. His father, an old good servaunt of myne, was desyrous to come with his sone. Yt is straunge for me to hear what haith ben sayd before you and my frend sir James Crofts in that matter. My servaunt brought home into the castell of Barwyk fyrst prisoner that was knowen to be tayken that day as my lord of Northumberland; Mr Crofts, now capiteyn ther, and other gentlemen, did see withowt anny other clame for his taykyng. And how Bradrick got the prisoners dagger, after he was tayken ther, ar good wytnesses. I wold the serves that day had ben don as I gave my poor advyse to the same before I wold suffer the bridge gayt to be oppened. My servaunt was arrested, when my verey good lord Dacre was capiteyn. I had cause to think ungentlenes; and the more that a tryall shold be tayken in the Marshall's court, he nather having offyce the tyme of the prisoners tayken, nor the partie under his ruell, when the tryall was mayd. My servaunt, Langcaster, haith told me, that Denton should saye before you and maister capiteyn, that he asked me leave to arrest Storye. I wolde he shold more advisedly have used his words, for I had no charge in thes parties when my servant was arrested, nor Denton never mayd me prevey to the same before the arrest nor after. Wrong reports of that serves, and others, haith bene some troble, charge, and disquyet unto me, after my long serves done to this realme, which and others haith geven me cause to think my self happy to leyve now in myne old years from such great charges; and, for my tyme passed, I doo, and wyll yeve thanks to Almyghty God, unto whos governaunce I do comyt you. At Harteley, the xxviij of October, 1559.

Post script. Sir, I do understand that you ar good maister to a frend of myne, Mr Pretie; I hartely thank you therfor, and do desyer your contynewance unto hym. I can noles but comend that man,

* Young Coldingknowes.

wher I may do any thing to his comodyte for the good serves he dyd under me in the layt tyme I served in thes parts.

Your frend to comand,

THOMAS WHARTTON.

No. XCVII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Your lettres of the 25 of this moneth cam not without long tarrieng, specially being so long loked for; they came this 30 at night; it is marvelled that Randoll wryteth no more particularities nor circumstancies. This cittie is full of talk from thence; and therefore it shuld content us much to have more certentyes. And so I praye you procure; (as the proclamations uppon both parties). At this present ye shall perceive hir majesties contentation, and as that shall prove well expended, so wer it necessary to bestowe more; to which purpose it wer requisite that you Mr Sadler, if ye thynk it not unmete, shuld wryte hither. For here be many more lettres than ye wold thynk. Some not lyking the progress of relligion; some not so angry with French good fortunes as I am, some douting other successies, as in marriadg, and such lyke, if prosperite shuld follow there; and so with some more difficulthe ayde is granted then semeth convenient. In any wise, hasten them as ye have done, for so shall they fynd there worke easier. Where I wrote of Dammartyn's coming, I now understand the mistaking, for it is Mos' Martygress, one of the heyres to the dūke Destemps. The gentillman whom you have sent to Edynburgh, is thought here not mete to be made privee to thyngs there. Ye knowe his brother here, and he is much addicted to such here as blame much the proceedings there. This I scribe in hast, but to-morrow I will

wryte more. I bidd you good night both. 30 Octob. at midnight,
1559.

Yours ever,

W. CECILL.

No. XCVIII.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and righte welbeloved, we greete you well. Wheras our cousin the erle of Northumberland having perfourmed certain things committed unto him for our service in those parties (suche as for the tyme did necessarily require a further staye then was looked for, upon our licence heretofore graunted him) dothe now make his repayre to our presençe for the better perfourmance of his causes here, lyke as we thinke it convenient that the place he hathe as warden of our marches anempst Scotland shuld be for the tyme of his absence supplied by som fytt and hable personage; so consydering your present abode in those parties for other our affaires, and your good acquayntance, credit, and estymation, by your so longe experience and travaile in service of those countries, we have therfore resolved to commit that charge unto you, as one whome we willingly can be contente to burden with a charge of speciall trust and auctoritie, bothe for the respects aforesayde, and for the good opynion we have of your uprightnes and integritie in proceeding: Requiring you, for satisfaction of this our choyse, to accepte the exercise of the sayde office of our warden for the tyme of our sayde cousins absence, joyntly with your other travayle there for us; wherein we assure you, you shall doo a thing muche to our contentacion. And these our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Yeoven under our signet at our pallace of Westminster the xxxth of October, the fyrst yere of our raigne.

No. XCIX.

*Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to THO^s. RANDALL.**

We have receyved your lettres of the xxix of this present, and also Balnaves lettres by the lorde of Ormeston ; by whom we do perceyve, that he was addressed hither for money, which, as yet, we have not in arredynes, but, as we wrote unto you in our last lettres, we do loke every day to have som good answer from the courte touching the same. And assone as it shall arryve, we shall give you knowlege thereof, praying you to declare the same to the duke, therle of Arrayn, the lord priour of St Andrewes, and such others as you thinke mete ; and that we trust very shortely to satisfie their desyres, which we wolde gladly have don at this present, if it had ben possible. And, nevertheless, because we understonde that theyr necessite is greate, which we wolde fayne relieve as moche as lyeth in us, we have therfore made all the shifte we can for them, and of our owne money have sent them one thousand pounds sterling in French crownes, every crowne being valued at vi^s iiij^d a pece, which we have presently delyvered to the saide lorde of Ormeston to be secretely conveyed unto them, and we be in good hope to sende them more very shortely. Praying you to desire them to kepe it very secret, and to make as few pryvey to it as may be, or ells it wolbe a meane to cause the quenes majestie withdraw her liberalyte in that behalf. Ult. Oct. 1559.

On an annexed piece is added—In this bag be iij m^l clviij French crownes, every crowne being valued at vj^s iiij^d, and one crowne of v^s and viij^d, in silver, which maketh in the hole m^{lb}.

* The copy is thus endorsed—*This was to me by the L. of Ormeston, when he was taken by therle Bothwail.*

No. C.

*Sir R. SADLIER and Sir J. CROFT to the Lords and others of the Quenes
Majesties Privie Council.*

Our humble dueties remembred unto your good lordships. We have thought good to put the same in remembrance, that the garrisons here have ben so long unpaied, that, for want of money, the poure souldiours are not hable to buy them selfs clothes, whereof now that wyn-ter is com, they seeme moch to complayn; the — day of Julye last was owing to them xv m^{lb}. (15,000l.;) for the receipt whereof, sir W. Ingleby, treasurer here, hath ben in Yorkeshire thes ij^o monethes, and is not yet retourned; ne, as farre as we can lerne, neither hathe ne can receyve so moche there by a gret deale as was appointed; and now ther is owing to the saide garrisons for iij monethes more; wherefore, we have thought good humbly to beseche your good lordships to have consideracion of the same; and forasmoch as at this present the quenes majesties recéyvours and officers be occupied aboute the receipt of her majesties rents and revenues in Yorkeshire, Chesshire, and Lancasshire, and others nere adiacent to these north parts, in our poure opynyons, it were best, under your lordships corrections, that order were taken, that so moche of the same as wolde suffice for the payment of the garrisons here might be stayed at this tyme, and lymyted to the receipt of the sayde tresourer for that purpose; for to cary the same out of the saide shires to London, and then from thens to retourne it hither agayn, must nedes be a double charge to the quenes majestie, besides the long delay of the payment of the saide garrisons; whereof, if it may please you to have consyderacion, the poure souldiours shall have the more cause to pray for your good lordships. Last of Oct. 1559.

No. CI.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

Yesternight arryved here the lorde of Ormeston with thes lettres which we sende you here inclosed. He was specially dispeched hither for money, and declared unto us, that oneles they might be presently holpen and relieved with the same, they coulde not kepe their power any longer together, but that their souldours, which they had in wages, were redy to departe from them for lacke of payment; whereupon, because we thought it not good utterly to discourage them, we have presumed to sende them one thousande pounds, which we declared unto him we shyfted for out of our owne money, and such as we coulde borow of our frends for the tyme; and so we have now wrytten unto Randall, requiring him to declare the same to such of the lords there as he thinketh good, and to advertise them that we be in good hope to sende them more very shortely; praying them to kepe it secret, and to make as few pryvey to it as is possible; whereof, likewise, we required the saide Ormeston, to whom also we have given cc crounes for his owne relief, which he toke in very thankfull parte, and so we retourned him this day with spede to Edinburgh with good words, and good hope of more relief assone as maybe.

Furthermore, lyke as we wrote unto you, that we wolde sende this berer Mr Drury to Edinburgh, to thintent we might the better understonde by him of their doings there, so being dyrected from me, sir James Croft, to the prior of St Andrewes, he hathe ben there amongst them syns Thursday last, and is now retourned unto us in the company of the said lord of Ormeston; he hath viewed the towne of Legh very nere within the shott of the harquebush.* And what he iudgeth

* What follows is crossed out. "Yet he iudgeth it to be to strong for the protestants, for that they neyther have any sufficient power of men to besiege it, ne yet any gret or-

of the same, and all the rest that he hathe sene and harde there, he can better, and more at length, declare unto you then we can wryte. He is honest, wise, and secrete; and therefore we have thought good to dispech him presently herewith; praying you to credite him in that he shall declare unto you on our behalf. What wolbe the ende of this matier we cannot tell; but surely without the quenes majesties ayde, either by takyng open and playn parte with them, or ells secretely to be at charges with them, as her highnes hath ben, for a tyme, we see not; their povertie being such as it is, as this saide berer can tell you, that they shalbe able of themselves to kepe any power long together, but of force must be fayne to scale and departe, to their no little daungier, and to the utter overthrowe of the hole intended purpose. And what may ensue thereof, we referre to be considered there by suche as can more deeply wey and iudge of the same then we can; and, for our parts, we shalbe redy to do as we shalbe comanded according to our duties. Last of Oct. 1559.

No. CII.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT.

ELIZABETH R.

Trustye and welbeloved, we grete yow well: And where there was brought to you thither, about the xxth of this moneth, *three thousand pounds*;† our pleasure is, that ye shall, *in most secret maner, see the same, or such parte therof*, as ye shall think nedeful to be delyvered *to the protestants of Scotland*; having regard to that which, in such case, is,

denance to make any battrie unto it; and further, he sayeth, that well he perceyveth them to be men of good will, specialy the nobilite, and chiefly therle of Arrayn and the prior of St Andrewes, on whose shoulders the hole burden both of charge and all the rest dependeth."

† What is in *italics* is written in cypher. The directions are by secretary Cecill.

for many respects, very nedefull to be well forseen, and therin we require yow to take good hede, according to your approved good wisdom, *whom you trust.* *You shall do well to certifie the protestants, that if they doo not with spede take Lythe, we shall have occasion to doubt of the ende.* Of certen other things our secretary wryteth presently unto yow by our commaundment. Gyven under our signett at our palace of Westminster, the xxxth of October, 1559.

*To our trusty Sir Raff Sadler and Sir
James Crofts, knights.*

No. CIII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir R. SADLIER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Your lettres of the 27, with a pacquett of dyvers others from Mess. Beaufort and Barnaby, cam this afternoone to me, and being notefyed to hir majesty, they remayne unresolved, being in dede very weighty. In these matters, her majesty maketh privie but few, the earl of Pébr. (Pembroke), the lord admyrall, Mr Tresoror, and fewe other. I assure yow, I feare much the lack of the *protestants*. I meane not onely in substance of power, but also of understanding. Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodmans, is most odiose here; and therefore, I wish no mention of hym hither.* If Balnavess shuld come, it wold prove dangeroose; and therefore it is thought better that he be forborne untill the matter be better on foote. I can not lyke Huntleys absence; and yet, if he were present, I wold feare his dooblyng. The erle Morton's absence is to be mislyked. I wold gladly knowe what Scottes be with the quene, and how money Frenchmen. Ye must forbere to use hym, whom ye ment to send to Edynburgh; for his bro-

* On account of their Geneva discipline, and particularly from Knox's republican tenets.

ther here is thought an inward man with themperor's ambassador. Yesterday I sent you lettres, to authorise you for defraying of the mony which ye have. How ye doo for French crownes, I am in dowl. If no good be doone ageynst Lethe before the 20 of November, I feare, with succors, the French wilbe hable to issue owt of Lethe; within a few dayes, ye shall here more from us, and we from you. My lord of Northumberland is desyroose to know to whom he shall leave his charge at his coming upp: And it is wrytten to sir H. Percy, if he be in the contrye, if not, to you sir R. Sadler; and in dede this evening Mr Percy is here arryved, so as I see no remedy for a season. Concerning Clavering, at Norham, I praye yow lett me knowe who he might be removed; and how the same might be better ordred as a forte, wherin the quenes majesty, now in the vacation, hath autorite to intermeddle, which hir majesty is disposed to doo if it might be understand how. So fare ye well. Allweise in hast. From the court, he last of Oct. 1559.

Your assured ever frënd,

W. CECILL.

No. CIV.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir R. SADLER and Sir JAS. CROFT.

After my harty commendations. Uppon the consideration of your neighbors causees there, it is here sene by such to whom it hath bene secretly committed, that the end of this there matter is certainly the begynning of ours, be it well or woo; and therefore I see it will follow necessarely, that we must have good regard that they quayle not. To help them is thought expedient, but how the same shalbe is doutfull; by counsell and by money they may have succor without open warr, so as wisdom be used; but by men it can not be without open breach; as for counsell, the best is as yow have gyven, that is in

anywise to make spede to recover Lethe before new succors come; for trewly yf the succors come before the quene be forced to leave Lethe, it will prove to hard a matter; yea, I feare an unpossible. As for money, ye have authorite alredy to depart with that which Overton brought. And if ye will signifye unto me, in what sorte they make there payes, and how they fynd 100 footemen by the moneth, and how 100 horsemen, we might coniecture what wer a convenient support. Wherin also, we praye you, to wryte your opinion. I see the matter shall not be left for defalt of money; but what shalbe nedefull wold be understand from you. As for powder, and such munition as they lack, it is granted that ye therin shall use your discretions, both what quantite ye maye spare, and how it maye be secretly conveyed. They wold be advised to procure their merchants of Dondee or such other placees, to procure some from Camphyre, or elsewhere. It is thought they might have some sent thence in a night to St Androos; nevertheles, the matter is wholly left to your discretions.

As for men, saving capteyns and leadors, it is thought they shuld not lack, so as they had money to intertyne them; and as for capteyns, it is thought, if they had such nede thereof, that v or vj of such as cam out of France hither of late, and be not yet fully restored to the grace of the quene, might as of themselves aventure to come thyther, and steal from thence with apparance of displesure for lack of interteynment. Nevertheles, in this poynt we will follow your advise and opinion. Ye must make them assured, that no practise of the French shall dissever us from them; and therefore it is requisite that they geve no creditt to any bruyte.

Marry soddenly to enter into any warr, is a thyng can not be for divers great respects, and so lett them thynk it reasonable. And now, for the obteyning of Lethe; if they will furthwith rayse a sufficient power and aventure it, the chargees shalbe borne. Which being done, if the French shall make any army by sea to invade that contrey, assure them, they shalbe impeched, if it maye appere greter than the power of the Protestants can withstand. These thyngs I am willed

to wryte unto you, to the which I pray you to make me answer with spede, as the casees do require.

I mervell that the erle Huntly is no more assured, neither that the lord of Arskyn is not of the counsell. It appereth they have not the castell of Edynburgh; wherein, I think, there shuld be both ordynance and powder in the same. I mislyke that the erle Morton lyeth a looffe. I feare practisees will do them as much hurt as force; and therefore the best counsell is to make hast; for length of tyme will wearye some, and brede emulation and mislyking in other some, and gyve occasion of practisees, by the which doutless the French will travell untill power come.

I am sorry that Randall hath thus manifested hymself; for now he maye not retorne to this realme a good season; and so I leave. From the court, 3^o November, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECIL.

Send me your opinion, whyther it be of necessite to send you any mony in French crownes. Theybe hard to come by here, and in what coyne you wold have it; or how otherwise ye might be helped, because carriadge is dangerouse if it be secrett, and otherwise being assured it wilbe to much knowen.

Suerly I lyke not Knoxees audacite, which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings doo no good here; and therefore I doo rather suppress them, and yet I meane not but that ye shuld contynue in sending of them.

Here is a dout risen, if we shuld ayde the Protestants, and helpe them to be delyvered of the French, what assuraunce might be had of them towards this realme. Of which matter I make no greate dowte; for I see they must be forced to seeke amyte of this realme to save them harmless from the French. Nevertheles I beseche you wryte your opinion therin, for so it is required.

W. CECILL.

No. CV.

*The Copie of THO. RANDALL's Lettre to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAS.
CROFT, deciphered.*

I thinke it is not unknowen unto your honors by this tyme what is happened to Ormeston, whose misfortune is no lesse to be lamented then the money at this tyme myght be spared, wherof I knowe they have greate nede, and nowe are determined to coyne their plate. They are sorie also, that it shalbe nowe knowne from whens this money cam, and feare verie muche, least they shall leese the quenes majesties favour and aide in tyme to com, which therle of Arrain and the lord James have lamented unto me verie sore, and desier your honors favorable to waye their case, and stand their freends, as hitherto you have. I have founde in these twoo more honor, stoutenes, and courage, then in all the rest. They are determined to bring their entreprise to good effect, or to ende their liefs. I am also requyered by the duke to make his hartie commendacions unto you bothe, and to desier you, notwithstanding this mishapp of Ormeston, you will remayne his good freends, and so favorable reaporte the same unto the quenes majestie, as maye stand with your honors; trusting, that after this evill fortune, summe good lucke will folowe. Immediately after worde cam to us, that Ormeston was hurte, and the money lost, therle of Arrain, and the lorde James, went with 200 horsemen and 100 footemen, and 2 peces of artillerie, to the lord Bothwells howse, trusting to have founde him there; howbeit they cam to late, onlie by a quarter of an hower. They have, notwithstanding, taken his howse; and onles he render the money oute of hand, this daye his howse shall be sett a fyer, and his goods reserved, in recompence of the money, and he to be taken as an enemye to the whole lords of the congregacion. There was left in his howse forboys, with sufficient number to kepe the same, as this berer

can reaporte, who was there present; and can reaporte also what alarme our neighbours of Lythe gave us the same daye, which, for the space of 2 howers, gave us greater feare then we had occasion, if we had had but 100 of good souldiars. The lord Erskin shott that daye twice oute of the castell, and hathe declared himselfe open enemye unto the douagier, whiche hathe greatlie comforted the people of this towne, and grevith the douagier verie sore. Balnaves fyndeth himselfe greaved, and Knox not verie well pleased; and I know not how to deale with them, for that I have received neither commandment nor instruction how to have to doo with them. Onlie in private talke I have saide unto them my fantasie, desiering them to crave no more of the quenes majestie then she maye with her honor graunte, or she maye commodiouslie spare. Where Balnaves nameth me in his lettre, aboute the levyeng of certain horsemen, where they were determined to have levied 300, I was caused to write unto him that 100 was sufficient, and that Kircaldie and Alex. Whitelawe* shulde have the charge of them, which I knowe doo more good service then 300 of the rest they have. I am desiered to lett you undrestand, that there is no cause for men to be discouraged; and so maye I boldelie saye, if halfe their men were good soldiors. The erle of Huntley is looked for daily. The duke hopeth well of him, the rest trust him but a littell. No man thinketh well of therle of Morton,† for that he hathe broken promes with the lords of the congregacion, that he is not here before

* Whitlaw was an old ally of England, as appears from the terms of his forfeiture.--“5th July, 1549. Alexander Whytlaw, liferenter of New Greenrig, for the treasonable helping, and favouring, and assisting, to the old enemies of England, against our soveraigne and leiges thereof, in burning of divers lands within the bounds of Angus, in slaying divers our soveraigne ladies leiges thereuntill, and passing with the saids enemies in ship to England, and holding treasonable comunicacion and conversatione with Englishmen in Brochtoune, helping, favouring, and assisting to them of the dilapidation and brenning of the burrowes of Dundie and Forfar.”---*Sir Lewis Stuart’s MS. Collections in Advocates’ Library*, p. 23.

† Afterwards the regent of Scotland, and the most devoted servant of Elizabeth. Through all this war, although a member of the congregation, Morton observed a kind of neutrality between them and the regent.

this tyme. Bothe Lydington and I hope shortelie to be with you verie secretlie, and not to take post horsse, untill we be past Duresme. By my next lettres you shall have certain knowledge. The lettre you sent by Ormeston he rent when he was in daungier. Most humblie I take my leave. At Edynburgh, the 3 of Novembre, 1559. Therle of Arrain hathe receyved the targett and morian, and thanketh hartelie the sender.

No. CVI.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to RANDALL.

You shall understonde, that, on Tewesday last, we sent thither, by the lord of Ormeston, one thousande pounds for the present relief of the lords of the congregacion; and also, we then wrote unto you, that we loked daylie to have such good answer from the courte, as, we trusted, to relieve them with a more somme very shortely. And now we have presently receyved lettres from the courte; by the which we have comission to supporte them with a more somme, as we shall see cause wherfore, because you be there present with them, where you may see and understonde their doings, and thereby may better iudge then we can, what hope or likelihood there is of good successe in their enterprise. We pray you spedely to advertise us of your opynyon in that behalf, to the intent the quenes majestie being in dede graciously inclyned to advance their cause, do not employe her good will and treasure in vayne. Prayeng you to write to us of all their doings at more length then you have done; and you may declare secretely to such of them as you shall thinke good, that we have money here redy for them, requiring them to take order for the sure and secret conveyance of the same, and to make as few pryvey to it as may be. Also, you may tell them, that we be still advertised of the commyng of more ayde of Frenchmen to Legh. And where as we wrote afore of

Damp Martyn, we understonde now that his name was mistaken, for it is Mons^r Martyguess, one of the heyres to the duke Destampes, who woll shortely arryve at Legh with the saide power. Wherefore, if they do not with spede take Legh before the comyng of the saide power, it is moch to be doubted that their hole purpose wolbe frustrate, and what thende may be thereof, God knoweth. Fynally, we have sent you herewith certain devises to be put in execution there, for the better order of their affares, if they shall thinke so good.

After the writing hereof, we harde evill newes of the lord of Ormeston, and that the money sent by him shoulde be surprised by therle Bothwell. Prayeng you tadvertise us of the trewth. 4 of Novembre, 1559.

No. CVII.

Orders for the maintenance and governyng of the Garrisons of Horsemen and Footemen.

First, A generall contribuicion and benevolence of all noble men, gentlemen, and borough townes, and a taxation uppon the kirke lands, and also thole profetts of suche kirkmen as be against the congregacion, to be levied.

Item, Of this a perfett booke to be made, and severall men to be appoynted in everie countrey for the collection of the same; oute of which certain money to be allotted for the charges of the collectors.

Item, That sume be speciallie appointed to have the receipt of all the treasurie, and to make payment over to the garrisons, or otherwise, for municion, and other necessities for the comen action, as shalbe appointed by warraunt, signed by the lords having governaunce, or 3 of them at the least, wherof the duke, therle of Arrain, or the prior of St Androwes, to be one.

Item, It is thought mete that Knox be a counsail, with the receipts and payments; and to see that the same maye be employed to the comen action, and not otherwise to any private use.

Item, That the treasure be kept secret; and that all such money as they shall spende in this comune action, may seme to growe and be levied onely by the meanes abovesaide.

Item, That there be one appoynted to have the chief chardge of all the horsemen, and one other of the fotemen.

Item, A marshall to be chosen, to take ordre for the watche and stourage, and to give the watche-woorde to suche as shall watch and stoure for the tyme, and to give nightlie the watche-woorde unto the lords governors.

This marshall wolde be a man of greate care and diligence, and to have an undremarshall for the ease of his travaile.

The saide marshall, or, in his absence, the under marshall, shall call before them all matiers in variance and plea amongst the garrisons, and, with the assistance of summe of the counsail, ende the same.

For the better observacion of ordre amongst the garrisons, certain articles wolde be sett fourthe by proclamacion, with penalties for not observing the same; as, for not keping of watche and warde, disobeying of capteynes and officers, for makers of frayes, comen drunckards, spoylers of victuallers, and such others.

No. CVIII.

Therle of NORTHUMBERLAND to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

I was of late an humble suter unto my lordes of the counsell by my lettres, to be disburdyned of this office, and that it wold please there lordships to appoint some one convenient and meit for that chardge, weyinge my unablenes for the same. It hathe pleased the quenes ma-

jestie to send hir lettres unto you, whiche I send hereinclosed, to take the chardge in my absence, seing my brother† is so farr in his waie towardes London, that I cannot convenientlie call him back for the serving of that torne. I have, therefore, thought good to let you understand, that I entend, God willinge, to set forwardes of my journey to morowe sevenight at the furthest; willing you to take suche order, aswell for the staye and quietnes of Tindale and Riddisdale, as of the hole countrie besides; and to appoint your officers as you shall thinke good. And thus I bid you farewell. From Warkworthe, the vth of Novembre, 1559.

Your loving frend,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

I have appointed Thomas Clavering and John Hall to delyver the rowels, ‡ touching the dayes of trewece, when you wyll call for them.

*To my verie lovinge frend sir Rauffe Sadler,
knight, at Barwicke. Yeeve this in hast,
hast, post hast, for thie lief, lief, lief. De-
livered at Warkworth, the vth of Novem-
bre, at foure of the klok in the afternone.*

No. CIX.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

Lyke as in our last lettres, sent by Mr Drury, we did advertise, that we had presumed to delyver one m^l to the lord of Ormeston for the re-

† Sir Henry Percy.

‡ Rolls, which contained the names of malefactors, and other particulars necessary to be examined at the Border meetings of the wardens.

lief of the greate necessite and lacke of the protestants, so shall you now perceyve by such lettres as we have receyved from Balnaves and Randall, which we sende you herewith, what mishap hath chaunced to the saide Ormeston, to our no litle grief and displeasure.* Surely we durst aswell have commytted our lyves as the money to his hands, and wold have thought the same to be in no daungier, as he himself did warrant us most assuredly. But you may see that such mishap doth chaunce when it is leest loked for ; which, we assure you, doth moch inquiet and trouble us. And yet is there no fault in us ; trusting, that the quenes majestie will rather impute the same to such mishap as many tymes doth chaunce in things most assured, then to any lacke of goodwill and diligence in us to do our dueties.

We can not perceyve that the protestants ar of power to besiege Legh, therefore we iudge that they woll remayn in garrison at Edinburgh, so long as they be able to entertayn any nombre of men, which they can not contynew for any long tyme, onles they may have supporte and ayde of money at the quenes majesties hands. On thother syde, we here that the Frensh also be in som distresse, both for want of fewell and other things, and also for that their victuall, as they say, doth consume ; so that it is thought that onles they have ayde shortly out of Fraunce, they lykewise can not abyde long in Legh ; and thus they be in som extremyte on both sydes ; what thende wolbe, God knoweth.

The protestants woll sende to us for more money out of hande, which we thinke the rather, because we wrote to Randall before we understode of Ormestons mishap, that the same was here redy for them ; but now, because of this evill chaunce, we wolde gladly knowe the quenes majesties pleasure before we adventure the rest. And yet we be in doubte, whether it be good or not, for this sory mischaunce, so to discourage them, as now to leave them destitute of helpe when

* He was way-laid and seized by the earl of Bothwell, who stripped him of the treasure which had been committed to his charge.

they have most nede ; and therefore, if they shall presse us sore therein, before we have answer agayn from you, we see not how we can denye it unto them, if it may be safelye and secretely conveyed, whereunto we woll have such regarde as apperteyneth ; for we do consider, that the more they be supported, the longer we shall contynew and norishe their faction, and also the greater shall thenemyte growe and increase betwixt them and the Frensh. And now, that by reason of this mishap, it is to be feared that our practise wolbe discovered ; where upon, nevertheles, you must sett as good a color as you can. You maybe sure, that if Fraunce list to breke with you, they woll take occasion so to do aswell for that is don alreedy, as for any thing that we shall do more in this matier ; which, considering how many we have had to deale withall, cannot be kept so secret as we desire, but must nedes breke out at one tyme or other, which we alwayes feared. And therefore, if any advauntage maybe taken now, or, at the least, if, by the spending of a litle money, this ennemytie, thus begon betwixt the protestants and the French, may be contynewed, in our opynions it is not to be neglected, for we thinke it had ben better never to have had to do with them then now to leave them ; wherein we besече you to advertise us of the quenes majesties pleasure assone as is possible.

Touching your desire, to know what Scottes be with the quene dougier, and how many Frenshmen ; asfare as we can lerne, there be no Scottes of any name with her in Legh, but the lord Seton* and the lord Bortick,† with thinhabitants of the town ; for the rest, as therle Bothewell, who is on her syde, and such others as seme to favour her partie, do remayne at home by her consent until she shall requyre their

* George, sixth lord Seton, afterwards a zealous partizan of queen Mary during all her troubles. He was also a favourite of James VI., and his ambassador extraordinary at the court of France in 1583. Lord Seton died 1584.

† John, fifth lord Borthwick, who succeeded to his father in 1543. Queen Mary highly favoured this nobleman, and was feasting with Bothwell in his castle of Borthwick when the fatal insurrection broke out against her authority in 1567. This nobleman suffered many hardships in her cause, and died about 1572.

ayde. It is sayed, that there be in Legh about iij m (3000) of Scotts and French men in wages. vth of Nov. 1559.

No. CX.

Mr SADLEIR to *Mr Sec. CECILL.*

SIR,

After that Mr Croft and I had written our other lettres to you, sent herewith, arryved here your lettres of the last of Octob. ; by the which, amongst other things, it semeth, that it is ordered there, that the erle of Northumberland shall, at his going up, leave his charge to me ; which is very straunge, considering that you knowe well how sclenderly I am furnished all maner of wayes for such a charge, wanting both knowlege and experience how to use it, specially the countrey here being now so farre out of order ; and also wanting, as I do, almaner of furnytur otherwise to reside uppon the same ; for, as you knowe, I cam hither in post, with half a score with me, farre unlyke and unmete to take in hande an office of such charge, which, I trust, wolbe better considered there then to burden me with such weight as I am not able to bere. I wrote to you of a good meane, which was, to commytte the charge of the est marches to sir J. Croft, and of the myddel to sir J. Forster, which can both well use and sufficiently discharge the same, or ells, for the tyme, you may commytte the rule of both to Mr Croft, untill you may determyn otherwise in that behalf ; beseching you to helpe as a frende, that I be not charged therewith, which, I assure you, I refuse not for any want of good will to serve, wherein I shall never be found undutiefull as fare as my poure witte and power woll extende. As touching Claveryng,* I can not tell what to say for his removing ; but sir H. Percy being there, who is capitayn of Norham, may be comoned within that parte, for he hathe lette the office and

* Farmer of the demesnes at Norham, often before mentioned.

the proffitts thereof to the saide Claveryng uppon a rent, as I understonde, and Clavering bounde to discharge him in the same, being an unmete man to supplie such a charge, and so he useth it thereafter. vth of Novembre, 1559.

No. CX.

The Maior and Aldremen of Newcastle to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT.

Please it your woorshipes to understande, that we have received your lettres by Mr Pretie; wherby you require us, that for the provicion and advauncement of the woorkes at Barwick, we wolde let him have upon credyt suche convenyent proporcion of coles as maye at this tyme serve for the present necessitie; and also, that we wolde take order for the fraught and cariage of the same to Barwick by see; for that you looking dailly for the treasor, you would see us contented upon the repaire of the same. Woorshipfull, as for the coles, Mr Pretie maye have his furnytur therin whan he thinketh convenyent. Albeit, for the paiement of the fraught of those coles, he requireth to have of us the lone of c^{lb} (100l.) But right sorie we are, that we canne not presently aide his want in that byhalf; consydering, that forso-mooche as aboote Julye last, upon like request for thaffaiere of Barwicke, we lent unto Mr Treasurer there cc^{lb} to have bene repaid unto us at the first paie that than next sholde comme. Howbeit, as yet we have none intelligence or knowledge whan or howe to be paid. Which monnye so being owte of our hands, and also our monnye that we are hable to make at this present disbursed for suche commodities wherof our trades and lyvings dooth depende; the said monnye therefore cannot be well gotten amonge us. And as we understand here is twoo hundred pounds in the towne left by the customere to be paid to Mr Treasurer for the queynes majesties use, upon warrant if Mr Pretie

and Mr Cocks may have c^{lb} of that monnye to suche tyme as the treasurer maye be spoken with. We woud be glad to helpe therin that we canne, and to spair as mooche of our monnye, alredy disbursed, untill the tyme that Mr Leis furnytur or paye shall comme. Wherby we thinke the queynes majestie, in that behalf, shalbe served, and we eased. Wherin, we beseche you, that we maye have your lawfull favours. So fare your masterships most hartely well. At Newcastle, this vth of Novembre, an^o 1559. Yours mastershipes at commaundement,

ROBERT ELLYSSON,	CUTHBERT ELLYSSON,	The MAIOR & AL-
ROBERT BRANDLYNG,	RYCHARD GODFREY,	DERMEN of New-
ROBERT LEWEN,	CHRYSTOFER METFORD.	castell upon Tyne.
	OSWOLD CHAPMAN.	

No. CXI.

Sir ROBT. BRANDLING to *Sir* RAFE SADLEIR.

Right woorshipful. After hartie commendacions. Wheras you lately wrote unto me too provide for you twoo hoggeshede of wyne, one whight, thother claret, you beeng enformed there was good store in the towne; and as I wrote unto you here was no store, but whight wyne of Brytaign, which was all in pipes. And nowe sithens here is arrived at Tynmoothe thre Scottish shippes commed with wyne from Burdeaux, goeng toward Scotlande, and I have bought for you one hoggeshed of clared wyne of theym, and shipped it in a ship of this towne, called the Goddesgrace, which you shall receive, by the grace of God, by the first wynde. Yf she wolde have taken in another hoggeshed, I had sent it unto youe, but she was too sore loden, nowe in wynter weather. Yt cost x^{lb} besides the impost, wherof youe are discharged. And at the commeng home of ower owne ships, or of any other repairenge hither, what you woll have more I shall sende it youe. Here is also

arrived at Tynmoothe, beeng driven by distres (as the said Scots were) thre small shippes of Brytayn, laden with wheat, rie, salt, and wyne, and, as thei saie, xvi moo shippes in the see, repaireng towards Leithe, for the furnytüre or victualeng of the Frenchemen. And if here be any thinge wherin I maye doo your mastership any pleasure, I praye you call of me for the same, and I shalbe redy to doo it in the best wise I canne. As knoweth Almightye God, whome I besече to sende you good helthe and longe life to his pleasure. At Newcastle, this fifth of Novembre, a° 1559.

Your masterships owne at all tymes,

ROBERT BRANDLYNG.

No. CXII.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to THO. RANDALL.

We be most sorye, for many respects, to here of the lord of Ormestons mishap, whereof now the best is to be made; and if there do arise thereuppon any brute or sayeng, that the money was sent from hens, the lords of the congregacion must say eyther that it was Ormestons, or som of theyrs, delyvered to him for som purpose, or ells must devise to colour the matier otherwise. And they shall do well to lerne, if they can, how it cam to passe, that therle Bothwell lay in awaite for Ormestons passing that way; for it semeth to be a set course, and a speciall purpose, made and devised aforehande, to betray him, which were good to be known. We have now advertised the quenes majestie of the saide mishap in as good sorte as we can; trusting, that her highnes woll take it in such parte as the case requireth; and, notwithstanding the same, woll not leave them destitute of such ayde as her highnes may, with honour, mynister unto them in their necessitie; whereunto they may be sure, that we woll helpe as moche as we can; which you may persuade and declare unto them on our behalffe.

And whereas we perceyve by Balnaves* lettres, that he laboureth to excuse himself of such things as he supposeth us to charge him withall, which, as we take it, he gathereth of such comunicacion and talke as we had with Ormeston, you shall declare unto him, on our behalf, that the care which we have of their commen. accyon, moved us to say our myndes frankly to the saide Ormeston, wherein we mynded nothing lesse then to offende Balnaves; and therfore pray him to thinke of us whatsoever we say, that we be no les carefull of their well doing then he is; and that we do not onely take all his doings in good parte, but also rest his assured frends to our power. v of Novem. 1559.

No. CXIII.

Therle of NORTHUMBERLAND to Sir RALPH SADLER.

Whereas there chaunced of late two shippes to be ronned of the grounde betwixt Berwick and Bambrough, as I thinke the same is not unknowen unto you; I have, therefore, thought good to sende unto you thes gentlemen, the berers hereof, to the intent they might joyne with suche as you shall sende about the ordering and usinge, as well for the punyshment of the countrie men, that be offenders, as in doing justice to the parties; and for all other thinges that shall apperteyne for me to do in this behalf, as well in the vewing and seing of all the said stuff, and taking inventories of the same, if it so requier: And also, and speciallie in the sharpe punyshment of such lewde persons as have made spoyle of any parte of thies goods. I have appointed the said berers, by your advice, for the executinge of the same. And when ye

* Balnaves and Knox, as appears from various passages in these letters, do not appear to have been highly in the confidence of Sadler at this moment, probably owing to their republican tenets.

thinke it convenient to advertise upon the state of those matters, yf you will send the lettres inclosed to me, assigned with your hande, I shall assigne the same also. And thus I bid you most hartlie fare well. From Warkworthe, the vjth of Novembre, 1559.

Your loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

No. CXIV.

Mr DRURIE to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT.

Yt may please you that myne ill sukcesse in opteynyng poste horsys by the waye, and the risynge of the waters together, did so prolonge my travell, as I cowlde not arive here before yester nyght, beyng Sunday; and immediatly uppon my comyng, I awaytyd on Mr Secretary, and delyveryd my credense from you. Yn a longe dyscowrse between hym and me, who favorably hard yt, and dyd allowe your prosedynges and your oppynyons. Thys mornyng I was broght unto the qwenes presense, who revieyd the matter agayne, and alowyet yt yn lyke sorte to have suche consyderatyon, as your selves woold, which wythe spede shall appere; and thus havynge aryved here weete and wery, and glad that I am now ryde of your companyes, I am, and wylbe, here at your commandementes. From the cowrte, thys vj of November.

Yours to use,

WILLIAM DRYRY.

No. CXV.

The Lord CLINTON to Sir R. SADLEIR.

After my herty comendacions unto you; where I am advertysed that their hath hapenyd, neare unto Barwyke, a shippwrake abowt the begenyng of this monyth. I have sent my servaunt, this berrer, the sergeant of thadmyraltie, to take order for the goods that are savid, to be gatherid together to my use, as insedent to my offyce of thadmeraltie; beseching you, to shew your frendshipp so moche unto me, as to assiste my said servaunt in these things which dothe appertaigne to my said offyce; wherin you shall doo me moche plesure, and bynde me to doo you any pleasure that I may to requyte your frendshipp herein. And thus I wyshe you as well to doo as I would my selff. From the courte at Westminster, the vijth of November, a° 1559.

Your assurid lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. CXVI.

Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

After our most hertye commendacions. Your lettres of the 3 of this present, we receyved the vijth of the same; and the day before we receyved such lettres, as we sende you herewith, from the Pt. (protestants); whereunto we answered then, that we are redy to satisfie their request, if it may be surely and secretely accomplyshed, but because the messenger, called James Baxter, semed to thinke it as daungerous by see as by lande, besides, that it wolde be long adoin by the see;

he is therfore retourned to them, to devise better for the suretie and secresie of the matier. And now, uppon the receipt of your saide lettres, we have wrytten to them agayn, to comforte them with such good matier as in your saide lettres is conteyned ; being of your opynyon, that it is most requisite to encourage them to folowe their entreprise, and speciallie to haste the recoverie and taking of Legh, with such spede as the matier in dede requireth.

Now, to answer to the poynts of your saide lettres, according to your desyre, fyrst, touching the meanes and wayes how to ayde them, we must nedes agree with your opynyon there, that by money and counsell, is the onely way till tyme and occasion shall percase inforce you to do more. And therfore, because we have now, uppon your saide advertisement, promised them, that they shall lacke no money ; it may please you to take order, that the same may be sent hither with all diligence ; for long delay of the sending thereof may be an hinderaunce ; and when it is here, in our opynyons, it may stonde the quenes majestie in as good stede as if it were in her highnes coffres ; for if the matiers so fall out, as we shall not nede to employe it to such purpose as it is sent for, yet it shalbe redy to be diffraied upon the charges of the fortyficacions and garrisons here, or otherwise, as shall please her highnes ; how moche woll suffice, and how they make their payes, there is mencion made of the same in Balnaves lettres, which we lastly sent unto you ; wherby you may coniecture what wolbe a convenient support, and if you sende more then ynough, the overplus woll serve for the purposes aforesaide. It must be in French crownes ; for if it be in any English coyne, when it shall come abroad in Scotland, it wolbe the soner suspected from whens they have it. We have here alredy xij^{cl} (1200l.) of English golde, which we dare not sende for the cause aforesaide, and here is no shifte to be made for the chaunging of the same. There is no helpe to be had in these parts for so moch money as woll serve this turne, and therefore it must nedes com from thens ; and right necessary it is that you sende it surely ; for Overton tolde

us, that if he had not hired men by the way to ryde the stronger, perceiving himself to be dogged by false varletts, he had ben robbed of that he brought. Secondely, Touching your devise, for sending hither of capitaynes and leaders, whereof in dede the Pts. have gret lack; we thinke it not amysse, that iiij or v of those mencioned in your saide lettres be suffered to com secretly hither, to do as ye have there devised, if at their comyng we see no cause that shall require the contrary.

Thirdely, As we have alwayes hasted them, to prevente the malice of their enemyes, by the takyng of Legh, so have we now agayn, according to your advise, wrytten unto them, that if they woll fourthly with raise a sufficient power, and adventure it, the charges shalbe born; and besides that, have advertised them of the daungier that may followe, if they forslowe the tyme.

Fourthlie, Touching therles of Huntley and Morton; thone is wylie, and thother is simple and ferefull.* Huntley is lokd for continually at Edynburgh; and, as it was tolde us to-day, arryved there yesternight; which we have not of certentie, but, wheresoever he be, we have the same opynyon of him that you have; that is, that he woll use both partes as may best serve his owne purpose; and howsoever the game go, he wolbe sure to save one. As for Morton, albeit he hathe, by his hande writing, bounde himself to take parte with the Pts. yet he lyeth a loofe; som think he doth it partely fering which partie shall prevaile; and partely in respect to the grete benefite that he hath heretofore receyved at the douager's hands, by whose meanes he obteyned therldom of Angush, though another hath a better tytle to the same,† and yet we thinke him to favour the partie of the Pts. more than thother partie.

* The earl of Huntley was justly esteemed one of the most politic and crafty, as well as the most powerful among the northern barons. Hitherto he had so managed, that each great convulsion of the state had added to his own exorbitant power. But after events shewed how far Sadler was mistaken, in ascribing simplicity and forgetful easiness of temper to the celebrated Morton.

† Morton did not obtain the earldom of Angus for himself, but as tutor or guardian to

And touching the lord Erskyn: though he seame to be neuter, and kepe the castell indifferent as his speciall charge, yet did he declare himself on the Pts. partie, at the last alarm given to Edynburgh when the lords were out of the towne, as you have harde,* and sithens hath he bene in treatie and counsell with them sondry tymes, as we be informed; but surely, as you wryte, it is to be feared, that practices hath don them moch hurte, whereof they have ben sufficiently warned.

Fynally, Touching the doubt arrysen there, if we shoulde ayde the Pts. and helpe them to be delyvered of the French, what assurance might be had of them towards this realme, wherein ye require us to write our opynyon, we thinke assuredly, that we nede not to make any gret doubt of that matier; for, knowing themselffs to be utterly out of credite with Fraunce, we nede not to feare theyr revolt thither, if the lacke of our ayde enforce them not, and therfore of force they must adhere to us, and seke the amytie of England, or ells they can not be able to indure the malice of Fraunce. And surely, we thinke, that if the quenes majestie wolde manyfest herself on their syde, and take playn parte with them, her highnes coulde not require that assurance of them, being in their power to accomplyshe that they wolde refuse.

Post scripta. As we were inclosing of this, we had such certen advertisement by our espiells, as we lyke not, that on Monday last, the

Archibald the ninth earl, whose title was not unquestionable. For lady Margaret Douglas, wife of Matthew, earl of Lennox, being the only child of George, the eighth earl, was the lawful inheretrix of Angus, in preference to her father's nephew. But as she was an exile and an alien, residing constantly in England, her claims were past over by the queen-dowager and Scottish parliament, and Archibald, as nearest heir-male, preferred to the honours of that ancient house.

* He alludes to a skirmish fought between the Scots and French, in which the former lost their leader, the provost of Dundee, and were driven back into Edinburgh, through the narrow street called the Canongate, where the disorder of their retreat was such, as, says Knox, "we list not to express with multiplication of words."—"The captain of the castel," adds the reformer, "that day shot a shot at the French, thereby declaring himself friend to us, and enemy to them, but he suddenly repented of well doing."

Frensh issued out of Legh to the number of mm. (2000), intending to distresse certen victuells for their relief, which were commyng to Edynburgh; whereuppon also, certen of the bands of the congregacion issued out of Edynburgh, and being in the felde there, folowed betwixt them a greate skyrmyshe,* wherein the partie of the congregacion was put to the worst, and xxx of them or more slayn, and xl taken, and the rest dryven into the towne of Edynburgh, and the French then retyred into Legh; uppon this the lords of the congregacion toke them to consultacion; and, first, as we be informed, did resolve to sende ij or iij of the lords, as therle of Glencarn, the lord Ruthen, and the Mr of Maxwell, into their countreys, to levie mo menn, and to retourne with them in spede. But, fynally, uppon further advise, perceyving that the greatest parte of their power, which were of the commons, that were not able to abyde uppon theyr owne charges, were all departed from them, they also retyred, by comen assent in consell, all out of Edynburgh yesterday, bytween one and ij a clocke in the mornyng, to Lythco, xij myles, of where, as we understonde, they do remayn in counsell,† devising what is best for them to do. And the quene douagier and her French be now in Edynburgh in gret tryumphe, the most parte of the substancial men of the same being fled out of the towne with their hole famylies. What woll folowe hereof is to be doubted; but we thinke the Pts. can not leave it so; for now they be in such extremyte, as they must studie to defende themselves, or ells to lose theyr lyves and lands, and theyr houses and posteryte, to decaye for ever. Wherfore, under your correction, we thinke it not amysse to provyde for their relief and mayntenaunce, and that money be sent

* This skirmish was fought at Restalrig, on the 6th November. The Scots were commanded by Arran and the prior of St Andrews, who ordered matters with so little prudence, that their followers were surrounded in the marshes, and nearly excluded from a retreat to the city.

† In fact, according to Knox, they did not stay their flight till they came to Stirling, where they had the satisfaction to hear the conclusion of a sermon from him on the lxxxth Psalm, the beginning of which had been delivered at Edinburgh. By this discourse, he says, "the lords were much erected."

hither for that purpose, which, though it be here redy, nede not to be employed that way, but, as you shall see cause, necessarylie requiring the same. For, though they be thus retyred, we see not but that they may reinforce themselves, and begyn agayn, or, at the best, we thinke them so strong in theyr countreys, that if they have any helpe or mayntenaunce, they may remayne as long as they list at pike with the French; and the longer the enemyte may be contynued betwixt them, the lesse oportunityte shall the French have to loke towards us. This is but our poure opynyon, which we referre to better consyderacion.

No. CXVII.

*Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to THO. RANDALL.**

We have receyved lettres from the courte; by the which we have commission to assure the lords of the congregacion, that if they woll with good courage, pursue and folowe their enterprise, they shall lacke no money wherewith to accomplishe the same, as we have now wrytten to theyr lordshippes. Also, we perceyve by the saide lettres, that the quenes majestie and the counsaile be sory that you have manifested yourself there; and therfore they thinke mete that you remayn there still, and not retourne into Englande for a tyme. We praye you learne how they make their payments there, and what the charges of a 1000 horsemen, and lykewise of a 1000 footemen, will be monethlie there; and to advertise us thereof; and also, whether our Englishe golde, as our new royalls of x^s a pece, or our crownes of v^s, maye be convenientlie sent thither, because we have many here, and cannot convert them into Frenche crownes. 8 of Nov. 1559.

* Theis were retourned, and not delivered.---*Original note.*

No. CXVIII.

*Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to the Duke of CHASTELLHERAULT,
Therle of ARRAIN, the Lorde JAMES, and BALNAVES.*

It maye like your good lordshipes to understonde, that whereas by your lettres of the vjth of this instant, sent unto us by James Baxter ; ye requierd us to sende you one thousande pounds by see, and also cer-ten powder, for the which your lordshipes promised to sende a bote ; whereof, as yet, we here not. We have thought good to signefie unto your lordshipes, as we did then advertise you by the saide Baxter, that if you can devise how to have the saide somme, and also the pouder, surely and secretely conveyed unto you, ye shall have it here redy at all tymes. And furthermore, because we tender your case no lesse then if it were our owne, we can not but give your lordshipe our poure advise, to loke well unto it, and to consider what advantage ye may have if you can recover Legh, and expell the French, before any new succours shall com unto them ; and agayn, how harde and daungerous it wolbe unto you, if they shalbe reenforced with a greter power out of Fraunce ; for the which, we assure your lordshipes, there is grete preparacion made, as we be advertised from the courte. Wherefore, if, for the recover and obteyning of Legh, ye will fourthwith raise a sufficient power and adventure it, the charges shalbe born, having afore sufficient warnyng from your lordshipes for the provision of the same ; assuring your lordshipes, that if money will helpe you to accomlishe your enterprise, we shall so provide for you, that you shall not lacke reasonable furniture therof ; prayeng you to let us understonde from you what woll suffice ; and also, how the same may be safely and secretely conveyed unto you. Also, you may assure yourselfs, that no

practise of the Frensh can dissever us from you; and therfore, if you here any brute to the contrary, give no credite therto; but when you have recovered Legh, if the French shall make any armye by see to recover it agayn from you, or to invade any parte of your realme, be you sure you shall have ayde to have the sam impeched, if it shall apere to be greater then your power shalbe able to withstonde. Of these things have we now good commission to make you warrauntie, and wolde be glad to conferre with som trustie man from you in that behalf, if it were possible. The 8th of Nov. 1559.

No. CXIX.

Sir R. SADLEIR to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

It may like you to understonde, that syns my last writing unto you, I have received the quenes majesties lettres, sent unto me by my lord of Northumberland; by the which I understonde her majesties pleasure is, I shoulde supplie the office of the wardenrie of these marches in his absence; wherein, I assure you, me thinketh, if I may speke it without offence, I have grete wrong, considering how I cam hither in post, utterly unfurnished of all things necessary for him that shoulde use such an office of such trust and auctoryte. I have here neyther menne, horse, nor money. And now I must be enforced to give enterteignement to som gentlemen of this countrey, that shall have to do for me in this service, as others have don afore me; the rather for that the wylde countreys of Tyndale and Ryddesdale, and the hole countrey besydes, are farre out of order; which can not be stayed and reformed without grete charge and travaile. And as for the theves of Tyndale and Ryddesdale, being at this day not better than very rebells and outlawes. There is no way to bring them to order, but eyther with force,

whereunto is required the charge of a garrison, or else a generall pardon for all that is past; and so percase they may be contynued in good rule for a tyme, by the helpe and polycie of good officers. · Nevertheless, though I be unfurnished of all things, save good will, for this service, I woll yet do the best I can, trusting, that where witte and power faileth, good will shalbe accepted. But how I am able to bere these charges, I pray you consider; for, as you knowe, I have no lands nor rents in this countrey, nor I haue no tenaunts here to call uppon to kepe on horsback with me at all tymes, but must hire and enterteyn men for that purpose; besydes such enterteynement as I must give to som gentilmen, whom I must use for the better executyon of my charge, as is aforesaide. Trusting, that the quenes majestie woll have som consideracion there of, the rather by your good helpe; for you may be sure, that syns the charge is committed unto me, I woll for the tyme that I shall use it, which I can not long indure, so employ my poure witte diligence and travaile therein, as I hope to put thyngs here in a better order than they are, though I sell my lande to bere the charges of the same. And whether because, as I take it, I am appoynted onely to supplie the place of the said erle in his absence, so as he semeth nevertheles to be still warden, I may therfore chaunge any of the officers which serve under him in these marches or not, I wolde fayne knowe; for Claveryng of Northam, whom sir J. Croft and I wrote of unto you, is his chef officer and deputie in the est marches here; a man of such corruption and avarice, besides his other faults, as I wolde be loth shoulde serve under me. Of this, and the rest of the premisses, I beseche you that I may be advertised by the next. November y^e viij, 1559.

No. CXX.

*Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT, to Mr FORSTER,**

MR FORSTER,

After my most hertie commendacions. Whereas sir James Croft and I lately wrote unto you for your repairee hither; at which tyme, I assure you, we thought we shoulde have had occasion to use you in a specyall matier concerning the quenes majesties affaires; although it hathe happened so syns we wrote unto you, that you might well ynough be spared, yet now that matier is agayn in hande, for thaccomplishment whereof, and for certen other things, wherein I am very desirous to speke with you, I do most hertelie pray you to take the payne to com hither with as moch spede as you may convenyently. Whereof, I pray you, faile not; for although, at your departure hens, I tolde you meryly, that if you cam not agayn shortly, I wolde send a post for you; yet be you sure that I wolde not trouble you, except there were a speciall cause that doth require the same. And so fare you well. From Berwyck, the vth of November, 1559.

No. CXXI.

JAMES ORMESTON † to Sir JOHN FORSTER, THOMAS FORSTER, and ROLAND FORSTER.

WORSHIPFULL SIRs,

Eftar my maist hartie commendationes in lefull maner. My caus of wryting to zour ma^s (maistershipps) at this tyme, is to desyre zou, as

* Sir John Forster, whom he proposes to employ in the charge of the Middle Marches.

† James Ormeston of that ilk, must not be confounded with Cockburn of Ormeston the

my werray undowttit and assurit freyndes, for to gife to me zour counsell, on quhatt maner I war best to behave my selfe in, be ressonne that it is schawyng to ws that the force of England is cumand in Scotland to ayde the congregation of Scotland, and to invade wpon the quenis grace, and my lord Bothwell and yarres parties, the quhilk yare is na man in this contre that dependis on thame bott I allannarlie, be ressonne I have of my lorde Bothwell, and is balze (baily) to all his landes lyand in thir partes. And farther, it is no unknowyng to zour mast that the gentilmen that is my neghbowrres, and is pryncipales of the contre, hes me at inwy and malice, and will mayk all the misraport that thai may to caus me and myne pwyr men to be heryit if thay cann now zour mast may hald me pardonit of my hamlie wrytyng to zou, but it is becaus that my haill traist and belewe is in zou, and if thare be anye stayment or harme to cum to zou, or onye of zours, or onye steyd or plesour, that I, or onye of myne, may or can do, ze sall be swir to be advertisit, and to hawe it done at zour desyre; and if yare be onie man that desyres, or wald draw ane drawht to herye me or my pwir tennanddes bot ze wilbe sa gwid as to hald it of quhill, that ze may gif to me lawfull advertysyng, that I may put my gwides by the way; for I will byde by my lord my maister that causis me to tayk syk ane feir, and to desyre zour counsell and advertisement, as my forsaidd freynddes, if thare be syk perrell or not, or if I sall thresh my corne, and put away my gwides in haist or no. And this I desyre yow, as my assurit and traist freynddes, to advertiss me, as my traist is in zou, and credence to the berare, that will schaw to zou the maner at mair lenth. Nocht elles as now, bot sa fair ze wyll hastley. At the

reformer. The former was, as appears from this letter, a bailiff and retainer of the earl of Bothwell, and is apparently afraid of the vengeance of the English, who were now threatening to advance into Scotland. I suspect this was the very laird of Black Ormiston, whom Bothwell employed in the murder of Henry Darnley, for which treason he was executed, December 1573. See his Confession in Laing's "Dissertation on Darnley's Murder," Vol. II. p. 291. The writer of this letter may, however, have been the father of the assassin.

Moss Towr, the viijth day of November. Be zours at command le-
fulle.

JAMIS ORMESTON of yat Ilk.

*To my werray assurit freyndes and worship-
full men, Thomas Forster of Langedd-
stone, sir John Forster, in Alnwik Abbey,
Knyght; Rolland Forster, capytane of
Werkcastell, brether.*

No. CXXII.

Bond of Lord KYTHE and DAVID STRANGE.

Be knawynn to all men by thes presentes : we, Wilzam* lord Kythe and David Strang, Scottsmen, bundis, and obleges ws, and ether of ws iointly and severly, our hares, executors, and asseignes, to the rytth honorable erle of Northummerland, lord-warden of the est and myddell marshes off England for anenst Scotland, in the sowm of a hondred pownds sterling, upon condicion fowllowing, that one George Hopper, Scottishman, or the said David Strang, personally, appeir and enter within the qwenes majesties castell of Tynemouth, on and befor the fest of the pwrefecacion of our Lady, called Candellmes day, next following the dait herof, and thar to bring with tham, or ether of tham, suffysyant writyng under record, and saill that the said David Strang was trewe and fathefull factour and attorney for the said George Hopper then this donne this present bond to be vooide and of none effect, wtherwais to stand in his full strenthe and vertue. In witness hereof, we haff set our sales, and swbscrybed our names thairat, at Warkworthe, the viij of November, 1559.

* This letter, or bond, seems to be the form of security given for the surrender, or entry, as it was called, of a prisoner.

No. CXXIII.

The Lord JAMES to the Capitane of Barwick.*

Eftir hartlie commendation; sory I am advertesit, that thair brak ane Frenche schip at Bervick within this xx dayis; in the quhilk schip thair was ane coffer full of clothis of ane gentillman that maryit my sister, quha decessit in Franche,† and the said coffer was ballit and markit upon the ane end; quhilk mark, with the namis of the principall clothis that was within the said coffer, ar contenit in this memorand; quhilk memorand I causit ane gentill man that is serwand to me, and broder to the said gentill man that is decessit, put in wrett, becauss the coffer, and the clothis therin, pertenis to my said servand, broder to him that is decessit. Quhairfor, I desyr zow, that ze vald mak diligence, and get the said coffer, and geif it beis gottin or this berar depart, to deliver it to hym, seizeing, that it be not gottin or he depart, to adverteiss me quher it is gottin, how sowne ze may; this ze pleis do for my request, as my trest is in zow, and God preserwe zou. At Striuling, the ix day of November.

Be zouris,

J.A. Comendatour of Sanctandre.

[Arms—a lion rampant.]

To schir Jamis Croftis, capitane of Barwick.

* Lord James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, afterwards regent.

† The prior of St Andrews was the natural son of James V. by the lady Margaret Erskine, who became afterwards the wife of sir Robert Douglas of Loch-Leven, and had by him three sons and three daughters. It is to one of these his sisters uterine, that the passage must refer. The husband of the eldest was the celebrated lord Lindsay of the Byres, and he was then alive; the passage, therefore, must apply to Margaret, wife of sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, or Catharine, wife of the laird of Durie.

No. CXXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

We have intelligence, that the protestants do remayn still at Lithco in consultacion; and that they do not onely reteyn their souldiours still in wages, but also go about to levie mo menn, intending to seke a revenge uppon the French; hereof we be advertised, but we cann not wryte it for certen; but in case it be trew, it is like they woll sende to us for supporte of money, which we thinke not good to denye them, and yet wolde be glad to knowe of the quenes majesties pleasure in that behalf. Whereof, if it please you to use spede, you may answer us before they comm, as we thinke levie their force for that purpose. The 10th of Nov. 1559.

No. CXXV.

*THO. RANDALL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.**

I fynde so muche incertaintie in mens dooyngs, that I am incertain what to write, nor know not how to reaporte that, that within this v dayes I have hard and seen, I have founde the woorst successe in a matier that I hoped so well of, that ever I shall see. Syns the taking of the money, and the commyng of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edynburgh, I have founde the most parte of our nobles and others, such as I knowe not whome woorthelie to commende. The nombre of men hathe so decayed synce that tyme, that the rest were forced to

* The letter is writ in a cypher.

leave the towne upon Mondaye last ; * also, our menn had a very hott skirmishe. There were slayne, hurte, and taken, of both sides, 30 or 40; oone captain of ours slayne, † and no man ells of any name; notwithstanding the multitude wer so discouraged, and shewed suche open tokens therof, that the best counsell they coulede fynde was to leave the towne with spede, and go to summe place, the hole counsail togither, where they might quyetlie take new advise in their affaires. They concluded the saide Mondaye, at 4 of the clocke, to departe that nyght at midnight towards Sterling, where presentlie we are. Against this purpose of theirs thare were onlie therle of Arrain, the lorde James, and the lorde Maxwell, who offred to remayne in the towne, if they might have but one thowsand menn, and to be assured of the castell, wherof they now stooode in doubte agayne, ‡ because therle of Morton and the lorde Erskin had consulted togither to ende the matter by composicion; wherfore, the lords of the congregacion thought it better to departe then trust to their gentlenes, beyng now bothe togither in the castell, and speciallie therle of Morton, who beyng of the congregacion, and promising dailie to com unto them, stale secretlie into the castell, whether he cam the daye before we departed, and was there when we went our waye. One Blaketer, || your neighbour, is thought to have wrought muche mischief in this cause, and betrayed Ormeston. Trew it is, that he hathe been the douagiers freende, and persuadeth the lorde Erskin against the lords of the congregacion. Summe there be that suspecteth the lord Ruthen, who is one of this

* 5th November.

† Captain Alexander Haliburton; "a man that feared God," saith Knox, who gives his dying words.

‡ Knox mentions the offer of these noblemen to remain for defence of the city, if any reasonable company would abide with them. But lord Erskine told them plainly, they must expect no favour at his hand, since he must declare himself friendly to those who could best support him. And this answer, given to his nephew lord James, utterly discouraged the lords of the congregacion.---*Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 192.

|| Home of Blackadder in the Merse, whose place of residence was within a few miles of Berwick, and who, consequently, was conveniently situated for spying out the private intercourse between the reformers and Elizabeth's agents.

congregation and counsaill, greate freende to therles of Huntley and Morton. The lords of the congregation have remayned here at Sterling 2 dayes, consulting of their affaires; having determined rather to dye, then thus to leave their entrepryse, but only for a tyme to retyre themselves, and, in the meane season, to annoye the douagier or her freends as they maye. The greatest thing that greavith them, as they saye, is the feare they have that the quenes majestie will have an evill opinion of their dooyngs; but they trust her majestie will favourablie waye their case, and accept such offers of service as shortlie shall be presented unto her by the lard of Lydington,* who hathe received his dispatche; and, I trust, we shall be with you within viij dayes at the furthest; not very certain yet what waye we shall take, beyng not very sure neither by sea nor land. I see not how I can write again unto your honours before my departure, having at this tyme, where I am, mucche a doo to fynde a convenient messenger. I received upon Mondaye last, within one hower, bothe your lettres and instructions. I made as many partakers of them as I thought might stonde with your pleasures, and the matter did chieflie concern. They have promised hereafter greater silence, and more circumspection in their dooyngs; trusting not to lacke your good advises, as hitherto they have had. What they shall determyne heare yet, I knowe not thoroughly, but intend to bring certain knowledge therof at my cummyng. To write at large, your honors knowith it is not possible in this kynde of writing. I have not had also at all tymes, and as I wolde, convenient meanes to send, which had been very necessary in this tyme; notwithstanding, I trust, it shall appeare, that neither I have been ydle, nor omittted any occasion where I might doo any service. Upon Thursdaye last, therle of Arrain received a cartell of defiance from therle Bothwell, requyering of him the combate;† the copie wherof, and

* The well-known secretary Maitland, who deserted the cause of the queen-dowager, and joined the lords of the congregation while they were lying at Edinburgh.

† This was upon a charge of treason; for the earl of Bothwell had caused Arran to be proclaimed a traitor by sound of trumpet.

answer to the same, I will bring with me. The same daye, the lords of the congregacion sent to take the bishop of Dunblene,* being an open adversarie to their proceedings, and intend to make him paye well, for that he is ritche. This present daye, xj Novembre, we departe from Sterling towards St Androwes, where we shall take shipp, either to arrive at Barwick or Holy Island, where, I trust, we shall be very shortelie. The douagier commith not to Edynburgh before to-morowe. Therle of Morton is retourned to his howse, and hathe not spoken with the quene. The lorde Erskin is determined to kepe the castell from her. The lorde Robert, comendatour of Holyrude Howse,† hathe been with the douagier, and shamfullie submitted himselfe. I heare of no man ells that hathe been with her. Of all theis things at my commyng I shall better reaporte, then for lacke of tyme I am hable to write, wherfore, most humblie, I take my leave. From Sterling, xj^o Novembre, 1559.

No. CXXVI.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

We are pleased that ye shall write as followethe, being therto advised by our privie counsell.

ELIZABETH.

* William Chisholme, bishop of Dumblain, was preferred to that see in 1527. He was so great an enemy to the Reformation, that he alienated the patrimony of the church in a degree uncommon even at that period. He left three natural children, whom, as well as his nephew sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, he enriched at the expence of his see. Bishop Chisholme died 1564.

† Afterwards earl of Orkney. He was a natural son of James V. and had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the skirmishes before Edinburgh.

‡ "The cobby of this lettre I doo retheyne, signed with the quenes majesties hand; and to this be present erl Pembroke, lord admyrall, lord chamberleyn, master tresoror, William Cecill, Mr Petre, Mr Wotton."

The above note is in the hand-writing of Mr Sec. Cecil.

After my hartie commendacons. Upon consideration of dyvers matters here by the quenes majestie, with her privie counsell, yt dothe appeere so manifestly, that the Frenche have a full determination to breake peace with this realme, as soone as they may recover theyr purpose in Scotlande. The arguments and proffes wherof, beside all common coniecture, be so many and so certayne, as the same is not to be tryfled withall, but seriously wayed and forseene to be remedied. This principle is true, that whensoever they shall make an ende with Scotlande, they will begin withe Englande; and therfore it seemeth a juste and sownd counsell for our owne safegarde, to protracte the matter of Scotlande against them. And with this onely meaning dothe her majestie consent, moved naturally for her owne defense and her realme, to further the nobilitie of Scotland from ruine and conquest; for which purposes, by her majesties commaundement, I doo presently write as followeth :

Yt is thought meete, that the Scottes shulde be ayded both with monny and counsell. And therfore her majestie meanethe, that ye shall shortly have som portion sent unto you; trusting, that the former, which was sent to you by Overton, be employed to good purpose. As for counsell, ye there may best devise what is meetest for them. Here we thinke none more necessary than to use expedition, and to spend no tym; for therby they shall waste, and the enemy increase. Of this matter I have often written to you, and you also to them; and I have seene theyr aunswers therto, excusing themselves chiefly for lacke of monny, which both is and must be remedied; and so may you put them in comforte; adding, nevertheless, that yf the matter shulde be negligently protracted, neyther monny from hense, nor theyr power, will help the matter. Yt is understand by Mr Druries reporte, that there is lacke of captaines amongst them, to gyve advise as to the case of seeging dothe appertayne; and likewise of munition and powder; the ayde wherof can not, as we thinke here, be given to them, without notoriouse cause of breache, which is ment to be forborne as long as possible may be. Neverthelesse, yf you two judge that the lacke therof shulde so prolonge the matter, as ye shall perceave that

the same thereby wolde be in daunger, the queenes majestie is advised, and so pleased, that ye shall, with all the secrecie that ye can devise, and to the best of your wisdom, sorte out iij or iiij skilfull, secret, and trusty men out of that garrison hable to be captaines, and to gyve advise; and order them secretly to steale from thence, chaunging their names, and disguising them selves as muche as they may not to be knownen, and to be secretly recommended to suche of the nobilitie as ye shall thinke meete, to be entretayned and employed in service; ordering them also to seeme that they be departed of their owne comrades, as men desyrous to be exercised in the warres, rather then to lye idely in that towne. They may carry with them, if ye thinke meete, som powder and small shott, as I remembre once Haddington was relieved with powder so sent by horsbacke from Barwicke. Thus, though I write, and be so thought here best, yet yf ye there shall see it not meete to be don, it is referred to your discretions to stay or to alter the manner of the devise as ye shall thinke best; which autoritie is graunted to you in all other advises that shall com hence. As for munition and powder, ye shall understand, that it is a thing much desyred for them to have, so as the manner of conveyance therof might be wisely devised and secretly executed. Yt hathe bene thought here, fyrst, that by some merchant shipp, passing from Barwicke to som appointed creeke, as Aberlady, or such other, they might have som powder, but the devise semeth not for any ordinaunce and munition. And therefore, secondly, hath bene devised, that ye shulde make a pretence to sende certaine superfluous ordenance that may be spared from thence by som ship there, ether to Newcastle, or hither to the towne of London, to be eyther chaunged or molten, and being shipped, to be directed to make the course into Scotlande to som place accorded upon with the protestants. Thus, ye see, yf I knew any other devises, I wolde remembre them. This is ment by her majestie, that yf necessitie require yt, ye shuld there devise how to help them as ye may. The conveyance wherof is thought meetest to be left to your owne considerations, that may muche better there consider circumstances than

they can be here thought of. Ther is, beside this, an other grete matter to be committed to your handling. Yt is thought very meete, for divers respects, that the nobilitie of Scotland shulde in this their distresse conceive and directe theyr sute to the quenes majestie upon these articles following, the enlarging wherof is to be left to theyr consyderations.* Fyrst, to declare to her majestie, in the name of themselves and the hole estates of that realme, that crueltie and tyranny of long tyme exercised by the Frenche, that is to saye, by the lieutenants, captaines, and souldiours upon that realme. And herin to enlarge all the enormities and oppressions made upon them by the Frenche, using therin such ordre of tyme and suche truethe, as the same weare don and comitted.

Secondly, To declare theyr long sufferance, theyr frequent complaints to the dowager, and the lacke of remedy therof, by her not onely following, but further owtrages and enormities by her selfe, abusing her commission, and bending her selfe and her powre, bothe with fraude, corruption, and force, to the subversion of that nation, and to make a conquest therof to the croune of Fraunce.

Thirdly, To shew how of necessitie for saving of that kingdom in state for delyvery of the hole nation from conquest, especially for preserving not onely the families of suche noble men, as by law be nexte inheritours after the Frenche queene having no issue to the croune, but also all the rest of the nobilitie favoring the contynuaunce of the saide kingdom in the naturall blud of Scotland, they weare forced, with the lamentacion of the hole nation, to assemble themselves together, as the noble men, gentlemen, and burgesses of that realme, to consulte, as humble subiects, to make suite that this violence and oppression of the Frenche might be removed; wherin they wear so abused by promises, and dishonorable breaking therof, that yf God had not

* This proposed supplication, was to contain the ostensible grounds upon which queen Elizabeth might be justified in supporting the reformers, should she think fit to do so; and they are chosen with Cecil's usual address.

No. CXXVII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Aftir my harty commendations your postscript of your lettres, dated the viijth of this moneth, hath much amased me, and at this present the quenes majestie being in consultation what is to be done touchyng this matter of Scotland, that is to saye, whyther ayde shalbe gyven to the Scottes in secret or oppenly, and if oppenly, whyther we shall be forced to enter into warres or no, which, I much feare, wilbe the end. I am, for certen respects, moved to steý the declaration therof to the whole counsell untill sone at night; and yet I have thought mete not to differr this that I see necessary, that is, that ye send to the protestants, and encoradge them not thus to shrynk, but to stand fast, nother yelding to feare nor to perswasions, and they shall shortly here of more ayde than hitherto hath bene mentioned. In dede, I suppose, the case being well considered, the counsaile here wilbe enforced, though it be to all our discontentation to advise the quenes majestie to begyn in tyme rather than to late; ij dayes consultation here will utter what is to be done. In the meane season, for God's sake! come fort them to stand fast, and follow such part of another lettre, which I send herewith, that was wrytten yesternight, and now depeched. I pray you advertise what manner of ayde wold serve the purpose, and advertise from tyme to tyme what succors pass to the French out of France, which by you especialls maye be best understand. I haue no lesure to wryte any other thyng. I thynk Mr Randall shall be sent downe thyther shortly. From Westminster, the xijth of November, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

The other grete lettre, here included, may be considered as ye see cause, considering this alteration of there proceedings, or rather recedings, disorder much of that counsell.

No. CXXVIII.

Therle of NORTHUMBERLAND to Sir R. SADLEIR.

I have apointed my deputies, Thomas Claveringe, John Hall, and Marmaduke Slingsbie,* to be with you on Wednisdaie next, to let you perfectlie understande of the staite of everie of their chardges, and to deliver you the rowles and writings, so many as apperteinethe to thoffice, aswell them touchinge the daie of trewes, as the covenants and promises in writinge of the officers againste me, with tharticles laitle assignede by us in comission; the counterparte of all which writings, I pray you, that I mighte have delivered unto Thomas Claveringe at your leasure, so that it maie be within viij daies at the furthest; for that I have apointed the said Thomas Claveringe to send me them upp to London. Tindale is presentlie destitute of ane officer, because my brother Slingsbie haith refused the saime, for that I am not able to give him suche interteignement as dothe apperteyne to that office, to have it well executede. Yet thinke I it convenient (bicause that wild countrie shall not taik any advaintage to do evill, ether by reason of the chainge of thofficer, or any tyme to be cleane withoute) that the said Marmaduke Slingsbie, for that respecte, shall remaine in the saime chardge till Thursdaye next; dowbtinge not but you will then appointe some one conveniente officer for that purpose. And that I mynde (God willing) to set forwards towards London this daie. I do therfore, from the same tyme, committe unto you the hole

* Brother of sir Henry Slingsby, who had married the earl's sister, and who had the controversy with lady Carnabie about possessing her house at Hexham. Sir Henry seems to have resigned his office of keeper of Tynedale upon being disappointed about that house.

and daily passing and repassing her realme, to thinke that this theyr assemblée in force hathe growen upon any other occasions but for the naturall defence of the realme from conquest. Neither that they doo heerby withdrawe theyr harts and dueties to theyr soveraigne lady, to whom they wish all honour and felicitie, and for the weale of the kingdom of Scotlande, to which she was borne, to be made free from all Frenche counsellours, and to be onely addicte to the advise of her naturall borne subgects in all cases touching the regiment of the realme of Scotlande; wherby, they be perswaded, she shulde be advised to owe her love and duety to her husband, being her hed and lord of her body: but as for her kingdom to permit it to be ruled by the naturall borne people of the realme. And furder also, they thinke by such she shulde be perswaded not to delyte in this manner of iniust and dishonorable usurpacion of the armes, styles, and titles of other kingdoms than her owne, wherby must needs followe unkyndnes, yea, such as shall in consequence breede mortall warres. Next to this, they moste humbly beseche her majestie, that she will not onely conceive this trew opinion her selfe, but also, as occasion shall serve, procure that bothe other princes of Chrestendom may understand the truethe herof, and also her owne nobilitie and people of England, and not to condemne them in their naturall and most just defence.

Last of all: They bothe beseche her majestie for theyr preservation, and as they may doo gyve advise to her majestie for the consequent preservation of her selfe and her kingdom, (the conquest wherof undoubtedly the Frenche have long sought, and now doo certainly determine,) that yt will please her of her most noble and princely nature, as the prince planted by God nexte to them, and within one land and sea to receave them, and the auncient liberties and rights of that kingdom, with the hole nation and people of that realme into her most gracious protection from the furious persecution, and the intended conquest of the Frenche, allowing to them all ways theyr naturall dueties and obeisance to theyr soveraigne lady and queene in all things that shall tend to the honour of God, the weale of the realme, and to

the preservation of her person from the treasons of the Frenche against her naturall countreye. Wherin they trust, her majestie shall please Almighty God, not offend the right of the Scottish queene, but procure perpetuall love betwexte the people of this realme; a thing much desired of all Christians, saving Frenche onely. And in the end preserve her owne kingdoms, and acquire an immortal fame amongst all princes.

[What follows is the handwriting of Mr Cecil.]

And thus you see what is ment; the order wherof and the alteration is to be remitted to the Scottes. Nevertheless, ye must compass this matter indirectly by practise, that it maye seme, as in dede it is, the best way for them to be honorably defended or succored. The allowance of there dueties to ther quene is here thought necessary, both for contentacion of the world, and for the honor of the quenes majestie; and therefore, what so ever the Scotts may be compelled to doo hereafter in that behalf, this semeth very probable for the present.

As yet I have not manifested to the quenes majestie the loss of the money* by Ormeston, but only to certen counsellors, nevertheless hir majesty shall knowe of it to morrow, though it wilbe to sone. I trust to here of some better fortune. From Westminster, the xijth of November, 1559.

Your assured frend,

W. CECILL.

* This is a very characteristic trait both of Cecil and Elizabeth. The statesman was afraid that the parsimony of his mistress would be alarmed at hearing of the loss of the treasure, and that she might be deterred from entering upon the great scheme which her counsellors had chalked out.

assisted them with good courage, they had bene, under pretence of fayre woords, utterly ruinated and destroyed, and the hole countrie bereaved of all theire auncient trewe barons, and men of service, and the croune conquered, and united to the croune of Fraunce. For eschewing wherof they have openly declared them selves ready to aventure theyr lyves, lands, and goods, to defend the crowne of that realme from subversion of the same out of the native blood of Scotland, and therefore remayning in harte true subiects to theyr naturall soverain lady, now, to the grete misfortune of that kingdom, married to the French king, they be fully determyned to expell all suche as have laboured with the olde quene to conquere that realme.

And to thintent the quenes majestie of Ingland may certainly understand this theyr complainte to be trew, besyde divers particularities of the Frenche proceedings, tending to the conquest of that land, they doo lett the quenes majestie to understand, that most trew it is, that this practice of the Frenche is not attempted onely against the kingdom of Scotland, but also against the croune and kingdoms of Ingland and Ireland. In which pointe may be sett fourthe as things knownen to them, that the Frenche haue devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that theyr queene is right heire to Ingland and Ireland, and to notifie the same to the worlde, haue in paintings, at publik justes in Fraunce, and other places this yere, caused the armes of Inglande, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the armes of Scotland; meaning nothing lesse than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annexe them bothe perpetually to the croune of Fraunce. And to declare playnly their meanings in this conionction of the armes of England and Scotland, they haue, in writings in waxe, and in publik seales, written, engraven, and adioyned the stile of Ingland and Ireland to the stile of Fraunce, naming the French king husband to the Scottish quene, king of Fraunce, Scotland, Ingland, and Ireland, &c. Wherin, also, they have further proceded, and secretly sent into Scotland, a seale to be used for the quene with the same stile; and, in a manner of a despite to the croune of Inglande,

they have to the dowager of Scotland a staffe for her to rest upon, having graven in the topp the saide usurped armes.*

Therunto may be added such other matters like to theys that be knowen to the Scotts, being in like manner devised by the French to the preiudice of England. All which matters they may saye, althoughe therby the honour and right of the quenes majestie is not abassed; yet therby is it manifest, that the scope and determinacion of the French is against the croune of England, wherof they may saye, as men warned by their owne danger, they can not but gyve her majestie som notice.

Last, to conclude, they may saye, that, considering their soveraigne lady is married to the French king, and not onely her name, by certain prowde and insolent ministers sent out of Fraunce, is abused, but, by the newe authoritie of the house of Guise, her selfe led and perswaded to be content that the realme of Scotlande shulde be perpetually knitt to her husband's croune of Fraunce, (wherunto they thinke surely of her owne proper nature she cannot be disposed,) and so the blood royall of Scotland shulde be extincted, the realme conquered, the lawes and liberties of the land altered, the people brought in captivitie, and made, as it weare, bridgees of blood and by warre to envade England, and to pursue theyr thyrsty and ambitious desyres against that kingdom. They doo most humbly besече her majestie, as the nexte prince to them, and one of whome they have hard most noble and virtuous reporte, that she her selfe wold not be abused by the daily and frequent perswasions of the Frenche haunting her courte,

* The arms of Francis and Mary, as described by Strype, were thus quartered. In the upper half of the shield the arms of France; in the lower half those of Mary, containing those of Scotland and England, placed quarterly. Over all, half an escutcheon; the other half being obscured, perhaps to imply, that another was in possession of the English crown. Underneath, these lines:

The arms of Mary, queen-dolphiness of France,
The noblest lady on earth for till advance;
Of Scotland queen, and of England, also
Of France, as God has provided it so.

chardge. And so comitt you to God. From Warkworth, the xiiijth of November, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

No. CXXIX.

*The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsaile to Sir
RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

After our hertie commendations. We see that tyme maketh such alterations, as it semeth most necessary to forsee things to come before they shall happen, and therefore we be presently occupied in dayly consultations what shalbe mete for the quenes majestie to doo, concerning this matter of the French proceedings to the apparant conquest of Scotland. And although we be not come to a perfect resolution, yet, uppon your last advertisement, gyven by the postscript of your lettre of the viiith of this monethe, mentioning the retyre of the protestants from Edenburgh to Lythkoo, we be forced to depeche furthwith this berer, Mr Randall, a gentillman of trust and knoledge, unto yow, by whom also the quenes majestie sendeth a somme of mony, to be used as occasion shall requyre. And further, we here think it most nedefull, that he be secretly sent into Scotland to the protestants to comefort them, and to encorage them not to shrynk in any wise, but, as he shall see the occasion, to gyve them counsell how to procede, and how to order themselves; and lykewise, to animate them with an assurance, that if theye shall, in any honorable sorte, requyre ayde of the quenes majestie, they shall not lack that that in reason maye be graunted. For demostracion whereof, he maye also informe them, that the quenes majestie is in preparation of a navye to the seas, and meaneth to cause more power of men of warr to be lewyed in the north parte of the realme, and to be sent to Barwyke and

the frontiers. And furder also, hir majestie meaneth to addresse the duke of Norfolk to be lieutenant generall of the north partyes. So as he maye therby assure them, that if it maye appere that theye will doo there partes lyke wise and stowte men, there enemye shall shortly see such power of England in a redyness, as both shall abate there pryde, and increase the harts of the sayd Scottes. Our meaning is furder, that Mr Randall shall endeavor hymselfe to understand all the strenght of the Scottes, and also there lacks; and lykewise the state of the French, both for there power and there lacks. So as thereuppon, we being spedely advertised from yow with some parte of your opinions, maye better considere what is furder necessarye to be expedited. Theis things we here think necessarye, and yet do we remitt the execution of them ether for the hole or parte, or for addyng thereunto any other devise, as to your discretions there shall seme most expedient; for in dede alterations and chaungings of things that maye happ there, maye gyve to you there other occasion of proceedings than presently we can here determyne.

We think convenient that ye gyve orders to Abbyngton* to use all the spede that he can to make a grete masse of victell, and to omitt no houre therein.

We also think it mete, that ye suffer none of your capteynes there to departe from there charge, but, to all intents and purposes, preserve your strenght uppon that frontyer, and devise uppon all preparations, that maye tend to the mayntenance of a furder power when so ever occasion shalbe gyven to send the same unto you; and so, generally, we recommend to your wisdomes all other things appertening to this grete matter, and byd you well to fare, and wish

* Purveyor of victual, or as we would now say, commissary of stores for the town of Berwick.

so to here from yow. From Westminster, the xiiijth of November, 1559.

Your loving frends,

WINCHESTER,	RY. SAKEVYLE,	WILLIAM PETRISS,
PENBROKE,	W. NORTH.	ARUNDELL,
THO. PARRY,	F. CLYNTON,	W. HOWARD,
AB. CAVE,	E. ROGERS,	W. CECILL,
N. WOTTON.	F. KNOLLYS,	JOHN MASONE.
		[Cecill's Arms.]

*To our loving frendes sir Raffe Sadler and
sir James Crofts, knights, at Berwyke.*

No. CXXX.

The Quenes Majestie to Mr SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

Trustye and welbeloved, we grete yow well. Where our counsell wryteth to yow at this present by this berer, our will and pleasure is, that ye shall considre aswell the contents of there lettre, as such other creditt as is committed to the berer, and to furder that which shalbe thought mete for our service, and the sanetye of that parte of our realme; and because ye shuld not want any monnye to be employed upon any necessite requyring the same, we doo presently send unto you the somme of three thowsand pounds; which our contentation is ye shall bestowe as ye see occasion, requyring the same to our most commodite, wherein we shall uppon the trust concyved in yow allowe your doings. Gyven under our signett, at our palace of Westminster, the xiiijth of November, 1559.

*To our trusty and welbeloved servant, sir
Raff Sadler, knight, at Barwyk —[Di-
rection by Cecill.]*

No. CXXXI.

*The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsail to the
Erle of NORTHUMBERLAND.*

After our right hartie commendacions unto your lordship. We have received your lettres of the ixth of this present, touching the two Scottishe ships of late dryven on lande there, of the chaunce wherof we harde before the recepte of your lettres; and therupon my lord admirall,* unto whom the chief care of these matters belongeth, hath sent down a servant of his† instructed for that matter as to the case apperteyneth, wherein he is willed to use thadvise of sir Raff Sadler and sir James Crofts, for that it is nere to Barwike. And therefore we pray your lordship to helpe to further the direction and order that shalbe taken by the said messinger sent from hens accordingly. And so we byd your lordship right hartely farewell. From Westminster, the xiiijth of November, 1559.

Your lordships assured loving frendes,

WINCHESTER,	W. NORTH.	RY. SAKEVYLE,
F. CLYNTON,	W. HOWARD,	PENBROKE,
AB. CAVE,	W. CECILL.	THO. PARRY,
		E. ROGERS.

To our very good lord therle of Northumberland, lord warden of the est and midle marches for anempst Scotlande.

* Lord Clinton.

† Probably Randall.

No. CXXXII.

The Douagier of Scotland to the Erle of Northumberland.

After our hertlie commendations. This is to advertise you, that it is havelie meinnt unto us, how that upon the ferd of this instant November, ane Jhune Hendersonn, Scotisman, maister of ane ship of Leith, callit the Marie, pertenyng to Thomas Lindesay, induellar thairof, in his returning furth of the toun of Dieppe, in Normandy, fra quhilk he was frauchtit be certane subiects of this realme, merchandis of Edinburgh and Glasgoo, wes, be contrarius wyndis and tempest of wedder, constreint, for liffe and deid, to ryn the said ship on land, neir ane toun of that realme namyt Ross, in Bamburghshire, or tharby, belongand to schir Rauf Gray, quhair scho remanyt with hir haill lading ticht and unbrokin, quhill the watter ebbit; belevand na trouble of ony Inglisman, bot that thay might have saiflie departit at the nixt full sey, and cum in Scotland. In the meyntyme come the watter-ballie of Ross, and utheris his complices, and tuke the skippar be the hande in maner of ane presoner, assuring him, that he suld keip the schip and haill guides, as officiar to the said sir Rauf, fra inquietatioun or trouble of all utheris Inglissmen, and suld answer thairfore according to iustice. Nochtheles, the said ballie and his assistaris hes nocht onlie intromettit with the haill lading and guidis of the foirsaid schip, quhairof ane part being in cofferis and barrellis pertenis to monsieur Doysell, lieutenant in thir partis for the maist Cristin king, and the rest to merchandis of Edinburgh and Glasgoo; bot alswa withaldis the samyn schip and guidis contrair the treateis of peax. Quhairfore, we pray zou hertlie sen this spuilze and wrang, as committit within the boundis quharof, as we understand ze have jurisdiction and charge, that ze will write your lettres to the said sir Rauf Gray, his ballie of Ross, and sic utheris as be sey or land beris reull in thai par-

tis in favour of thir beraris, awynaris, and sutaris of the said schip and guidis, to caus thame be restorit thairto without delay, conforme to the treateis of peax. Assuring zou, that in doing thairof ze will gratefy ws mekle ; and we sall nocht fail to recompence zou with semblable plesure, quhen it salhappin the like chance to occur within this realme to ony subiect of that realme accordinglie. Thus we commit zou to God. At Edinburgh, the xv day of November, 1559.

En toute vere,

MARIE R.

No. CXXXIII.

*The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsail to sir
RAFE SADLIER and sir JAMES CROFT.*

After our hartie commendations. You shall understand, that, considering the stirres in Scotland betwixt the Frenche and Scotts, bothe being prepared, as farre as their powers can extende, to hostilitie and warre ; it is thought necessary furthwith, to see well to that pece, lest the events of things happen otherwise than we woold wishe. And therfore, we be of opinion, that the number of iiij^m (4000) men of warre more than ye presently have wer necessary to be levied and sent to that town and frontier ; but for that we be in doubte of the victualing of them at this present, except further provision and warning had byn. We have determined presently to sende but ij^m (2000) which shall come thither with as moche spede as the same may ; and therfore we thought mete to give you knowlege therof before hand ; praying you, with all spede, to see that nothing be omitted, specially in provision of victuell, that may seme to tende to this purpose. And as ye shall thinke of this, so to write your opinions with all spede possible. And, furder, to advertise us what your chief lackes be, or wilbe, either for defense of that town, or for suche furder service as the

quenes majestie shalbe constrayned to advaunce upon those frontiers for the savetie of her realme from the evill purposes ment by any that shall prove to be comme her ennemies.

We wolde also understande in what estate the treasurer there standeth ; what money he hath received towards the debt in July last ; and what the debte is sence, and what money he hath receaved for that, and suche further matter as therto belongeth necessary to be advertised. From Westminster, the xvth of November, 1559.

Your loving frends,

WINCHESTER,	W. HOWARD,	E. ROGERS,
F. CLYNTON,	AB. CAVE,	F. KNOLLYS,
THO. PARRY,	PENBROKE,	W. CECILL.
W. NORTH.	E. ROGERS,	RY. SAKEVYLE.

* Post script. It is ordered, that the lord tresoror, ioyning with hym Mr Cave and Mr Sackfeld, haue the principall care committed to them for the provision of victells, as well for the navye as for the towne of Barwyk, and such other thyngs : and therfore lett Abyngdon, in any wise, receave such directions as shall come from my lord tresoror and Mr Cave and Mr Sackvile, and followe the same.

No. CXXXIV.

Monsiur DOYSELLE† to therle of NORTHUMBERLAND.

MY LORD,

Eftir my hertlie comendationis in lefull maner. I traist zour lordship hes hard er now, of ane Scotis ship, quhilk, throu vehement tempest of wedder, in hir returning furth of France, wes drevin on land in

* What follows by Cecill.

† Ambassador extraordinary from France to Scotland. He was a gallant soldier and an artful politician ; but these qualities were stained by the petulance and presumption too common to his countrymen.

Bamburghschire, ner ane town callit Ross, quhair scho remaint hale; tycht, and unbrokin, quhill the watter ballie of the said toun, under sir Rauf Gray, wranguslie and iniustlie intromettit with the schip and hale guides being thairin; quhairof ane part perteint to myself, as maie ample zour lordship will considder by ane lettre of the quenis grace, dowarrier and regent of this realme, direct unto zou in favouris of the awnnaris of the samyn. Quharfoir, I pray zour lordship to write to the said sir Rauf Gray, his ballie and utheris, bering reull in thai partis, requiring tham to mak restitution of the said schip and guidis to the beraris heriof; quhairin zour lordship sall nocht onlie do me thankfull plesure, bot will alsua oblissee me to recompence zou with the semblable, quhen ze have occasioun to charge me with ony thing I may do for zour lordship owther in France or Scotland. Thus I commit zour lordship to the protectioun of Almichtie God. At Edinburgh, the xv day of November, 1559.

our lordships gude freind,

MENTIN.

No. CXXXV.

The Douagier of Scotland to Sir JAMES CROFT.

Eftir our hertlie comendationis. Thir beraris having of lait ane schip, ladyn with certane guidis and merchandice, cumand furth of France to this realme, wes be the way, throu tempest of weddir, drevin on land in Bamburghschire, nere ane toun callit Ross, And understanding that the ballie thairof hes intromettit with the said schip and guidis, the beraris ar to repair thair to obtaine restitutioun of the same. Praying zou to permit and suffir thame have passage at that toun of Berwik to mak sute for thair schip and guides, as ze will do ws thank-

full plesure in that behalf. Thus fair ze wele. At Edinburgh, the xv day of November.

En bien vere,

MARIE R.

No. CXXXVI.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

After my most hertie commendacions. My lord of Northumberland departed out of this contrey towards you on Monday last; and, before his departure, made proclamacion in Alnewyck, and there proclaimed me his deputie warden in these marcheis, so as he taketh him self to be still warden; and if he may so remayn, and receyve thenterteignment and profite of the office, and I to have all the travaile and charge, then shall it be easie and profitable to him, whatsoever it shalbe to me. Nevertheles, syns it hathe pleased the quenes majestie to commyte the charge to me for the tyme, although I be most unmete and unworthie therof to all respects, yet I shall endeavour meself to sattisfie her highnes expectacion therin to the uttermost of my witte and power; trusting, that her highnes woll have such consideracion of my charges, as I be not hyndered ne impoverished by the same. For, as I wrote unto you, I must, of force, give enterteignment to som gentilmen here, whose ayde and helpe I must nedes have, as others have had in lyke case heretofore for the better execucion of this office; and also, I am now dryven to bye horses for my men, and besydes must enterteyn at the lest xx horsemen to attende uppon me as well at dayes of trewce as when I travail abroad in this countrey; intending, God willing, to visite all places along these frontiers within the lymyts of my charge, to thintent I may the better understonde and declare the same at my retourne. And if it may stonde with your

good plesure, I wolde gladly understonde from you who shall succede, and take this charge at my hande, and how long it woll be or I shalbe discharged of the same; having firme trust and assured hope, that your frendeship towards me is such, as you woll helpe me to be shortly dispeched out of this unpleasant countrey, wherein, I assure you, you shall do me the greatest pleasure in the worlde, and bynde me to pray for you. If I shoulde say myn opynyon to you, I thinke neyther the saide erle nor his brother so mete to have the rule of any of the marches, as I wolde wishe them to be, for sondry causes, which I coulde well declare unto you, if I were present there. The 15 of November, 1559.

No. CXXXVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretarie CECILL.

SIR,

It may like you to understonde, that sithens the departure of the protestants from Edinburgh, we never harde worde dyrectly from them, ne yet can here certainly where they are become, but, as some say, they reteyn still their souldours in wages, and remayn at Sterling; and some others say, that they are all separate, and departed home to their houses and countreys.

Yesternight arryved here monsieur Ruberye, master of the requests ordynary with the French kyng; being dyrected to the quenes majestie from the quene douagier of Scotlande, as by her lettres herenclosed, addressed to me, sir James Crofte, you shall perceyve with him arryved here Rosse, the Scottish heraulde, who reported, that young Lydington, and Mr Henry Balnaves be com into Englande, and also David Forrest cam hither iij dayes past, who departed out of Englande in the begynnyng of the reigne of quene Mary for cause of religion, and now retourneth agayn because of these troubles in Scotlande,

as he sayeth. He tolde us, that the saide Lydington was commyng into Englonde from the protestants, but whether this way, or by the west marches, it is uncerten.

The saide Ruberye is this day departed hens towards you, making, as we perceyve, no grete iourneys.

The quene douagier, as we here, useth no extremyte, ne persueth any mann that hathe shewed himself ayenst her at this tyme, but hath made proclamacion, and given pardon to all the burgesses and inhabitants of Edinburgh, wishing such as are fled thens to retourne and make their habitacions, and do their lawfull busines there as they have donn, which she hathe promised them they shall do without persute or dangier. And the saide Scottish heraulde also reported here, that he thought she wolde receyve the duke and the lords to her grace and favour, if they wolde put away from them Balnaves, young Lydington, and Ormeston, and such others, by whom, she sayeth, the saide lords be ledde and abused. The 15th of November, 1559.

No. CXXXVIII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to the Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsaill.

Please it your good lordships to understonde, that wher as of late perceyving how necessary and requisite it was to have a new supplie of victualls provided to remayne in store here, we were so bolde as to put your lordships in remembrance thereof by our lettres, and by the same were humble suters, that this berer Jo. Abyngton might repayre to you for that purpose, which your lordship at that tyme thought to be convenyent; the sayde Jo. Abyngton having now lefte his charge with such a one as, we trust, will honestlie use and supplie the same in his absence; and also having delyvered unto us a declaracion of the hole remayn of victualls now remayning here in store, accordyng

to your lordships order and dyrection; the copie of which declaracion we sende herewith subscribed with our hands, doth at this present repaire unto your lordships for the purpose aforesaide, beseching your good lordships, that, considering the sklender provision that is here in store, to serve the souldiours and workemen here present, and such a nomber also of workemen and labourers as we suppose shalbe here this next somer for the works here, it may please you to direct and employe the sayde Abyngton in and abouts the makying and fournyture of such new provision and supplie of victualls to be sent hether, as by your wysedoms shalbe thought convenyent. Not doubting, but the saide Abyngton woll, by your lordships good dyrections, do that to his duetie aperteyneth in that behalf. He hathe also requyred us to commende his humble sute, which he hath to make unto your good lordships, to be restored to suche preferrements in the courte as he hathe lost by reason of his service here, wherein he supposeth himself to have susteyned som iniurye; and yet trusteth, that his employment in service in these parts shall not be any occasion whereby he shoulde lose such droits and in courte, as he sayeth of right aperteyneth unto him, which he himself woll declare more fully, referring the same to your lordships consideracion. The 16 of November, 1559.

No. CXXXIX.

Sir JAMES CROFT and Sir R. SADLEIR to Mr Secretary CECIL.

Yesternight we receyved lettres in cipher from Randall, which being here deciphered, we sende you hereincloused; and because in one parte of the same he maketh mencionn of ij lettres receyued from us, with certen instructions, which we wrote and sent to him before the lords departure from Edinburgh, thence being sent before we knew certainly of the defeate of Ormeston, and thother ymedyately after; we

have thought it not amisse to sende you herewith the copies of the same, to thintent you may know what we wrote, if you please to lose so moche labour as to peruse the same.

We wrote also other lettres to him syns that tyme; wherein, because he hathe so discovered himself, that his being there is well knownen to the quene douagier and all Scotland, we advised him, therefore, to remayn there still for a season, untill he shoulde have license of the quenes majestie to retourne; but the messenger, whom we sent with the same, durst not adventure to passe Edinburgh, the lords being departed thens, but retourned our lettres to us agayn, so as Randall hathe no notice of your advertisement in that behalf. And now, you may perceyve, that he and Lydington are commyng hither, for whose secret conveyance to you, we shall, uppon theyr arryvall, devise the best we cann.

Post scripta. We haue receyved your lettres of the xijth of this present, wishing, that the matier conteyned in the same had ben as well resolved there a moneth ago as it is now, for we thinke this busyness of Scotland had framed moch better then it doth. Nevertheles, we be in good hope, that the same may well ynough be revived, although there be now such an alteracion as we see not but things must rest a while till you shall here what Lydington bringeth. And, in the meane season, we shall conforte and incourage them, according to your advertisement; and yet the way and passage is so difficile, that we knowe not how to convey any lettres unto them, for we have not omytted to wryte to them alredy to that effect syns their defeate, but the messengers, by whom we sent the same, being xxx myles and more on their way, have retourned to us agayn with our lettres, because the passages were so stopped as they durst not adventure to go through. Nevertheles, we shall assay ones agayn to sende lettres unto them to conforte them; and also, we thinke it not amisse to offer them som money for thenterteynment of som garrison to remaynn with them in wages for their more suretie and strength, untill tyme shall serve them

to com to the felde agayn, which we perceyve they stay uppon till Lydyngton's credence shalbe answered by you. When he cometh hither, we shall addresse him to you as secretely and as spedylie as may be. The xvijth of November, 1559.

No. CXL.

Sir JOHN FORSTER to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR,

Whereas this berrer, Mr Counstable, my verye frende, haithe requierede me to write unto your mastershippe, to be so frendlye unto him, the rather at this my humble requiste, so as he maye have your favorable lettres for the furtherance of such his honeste sutes as he haithe to do nowe presently at the courte, as you shall perceve by the same his billis redye to be shewed. Thus I am moste bolde to troble your mastershippe herewithe, for that he is bothe a serviceable gentellman, and one that maie do you as moche plesure as eny suche in this countrie, as knoweth Almyghtie Gode, who have you in his most blesed keepinge. At my house, negh Alnewycke, this xixth of November instant, 1559.

Your own most assured at comandment,

JOHN FORSTER.

[Arms---A Horn.]

*To the right worshipful sir Rayfe Sadler,
knight, warden of theste and medell
marches of Englande anempst Scot-
lande.*

No. CXLI.

Sir JOHN FORSTER to Sir RAUF SADLER.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR,

My deutie remembrede. Maie it please your mastershippe to under-stande I have recevide your lettre, datit at Barwycke the xviiith daie of this instant; wherebye I understande that your plesour is, that I shall repaire to Hexam upon Wenesdaie next for the receipt of that office. This present night Mr Herren* came to my house, withe whom I have confarde, and founde him verye confearmeable in all causes; so that, Gode willinge, I shall not faille to kepe the prefexet daie, accordinge to your commandment. And so put thengs in order, bothe to the advancement of the quenes majesties service, and the discharge of your honestie in that behalfe: as knowethe Almyghtie God, who have you in his moste blessed tewission. From my house neghe Alnewycke, the xixth of November, 1559.

Yours moste assured at commandement,

JOHN FORSTER.

Postscriptum. Sir,—For your wyne, unles the wether mend, there is no carriges cane passe; so that for wante thereof you muste be content to drenke beare. †

* George Heron, of Chipchace. He was slain at the raid of the Reidswire. The circumstance in which he is described as being conformable, was probably his consenting to accommodate the keeper of Tynedale; an office now to be held by Forster, with the use of his castle of Chipchace.

† Camden quotes Æneas Silvius about the scarcity of wine in Northumberland being so great, that big-bellied women craved to taste it as a rarity; and adds generally, that their manners were still the same. Here, the transporting a hogshead of wine to Hexham proves a thing of such difficulty, that sir Ralph Sadler must be contented with the home-brewed beverage of the country. But, in bishop Gibson's days, a roundlet of good claret was as frequently to be met with in Northumberland as in Middlesex.

No. CXLII.

Sir Rafe Sadleir to Mr Sec. Cecill.

SIR,

I cann no lesse do thenn commende the sute of this gentilman, Mr Robert Constable, who is a mann of good service on this frontier, unto you. His sute he can himself better declare then I can write; and if it be as he sayeth, it semeth to me that he susteyneth som iniurie. Beseching you, therefore, so to shew your lawfull favour unto him, if his cause be iust and reasonable; as he may understonde, that mynn intercession for him doth stande him in som stede; whereby, and such like, I shalbe the better able to do the quenes majestie such service here as my duetie requireth. I have presumed to write som particularyte of his sute, as, uppon his reporte, I understonde it, to my lord of the counsell, which, thorough your good helpe, wolbe considered according to custom. 21 of November, 1559.

No. CXLIII.

Sir Rafe Sadleir and Sir James Croft to Mr Sec. Cecill.

We received presentlie thes lëttres, which we sende you herewith, from the lord James, commendatour of St Andrewes, and Randall, alias Barnabie; by the which it shall appere unto you, that the lord of Lydington, and the saide Barnaby, wolbe here as sone as the wynde and wether woll serve them.* The messenger which brought the

* The younger Lethington was dispatched to London, to lay the distressed state of the reformed nobles before queen Elizabeth and her council. Randolph, whose assumed name of Barnabie has puzzled some historians, accompanied the secretary in this journey.

saide lettres cam by land, being one of therle of Arrayne's servaunts, and is appoynted to tarry here the commyng of the lord of Lydyngton, and to go with him to the courte. He sheweth us, that the duke is at his house of Hamylton; and, as he thinketh, therle of Argile and the master of Maxwell with hym. Therle of Arrayn, and the priour of St Andrewes, at St Andrewes, and the lord Ruthen at St Johnstons; and that they do reteyn still their bands of fotemen in wages for their more strength; what they determyn, you shall not know certainly till tharryvall of the saide Liddyngton; the brute goeth, that the quene douagier is departed this lyfe; but we thinke the newes to good to be trew; and yet most trew it is, that she is in greate extremyte of syckenes, such as most men thinke she can not escape, which, if it folowe, woll make a greate alteracion of this matter; as we shall here more therof, and of all other things, you shalbe advertised as the case shall requyre.

This morning, also, arryved here Mr Capteyn Randall, with the quenes majesties lettres, and the lords of the counsells, and m.m.m. (3000l.); which lettres we have considered, and also harde his credence, but the alteracions and change of things here being such as, you know, we can not tell yet what to determyn till we here what Lydyngton bringeth, whom we loke for howerly. And uppon his arryvall, if we see cause, we intende to sende the saide Mr Randall to the protestants in the same bote that the saide Lydyngton shall arryve in here, both to comforte them in such sorte as in the sayde lords of the counsaills lettres is appoynted to us; and also, to carry with him som moneý for the payment of the wages of their garrisons, whereof we know they have nede, to the intent they may remayn in the more strength, and conceyve therby the better courage to folowe their intended enterprize, which we woll eyther do, or forbere to do, as we shall, uppon Lydyngton's arryval here, see cause necessarily requyring the same. Abington is on his way towards you, &c. 21 of November, 1559.

No. CXLIV.

THO. BARNABIE, *alias* RANDALL, to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT, *with the summe of my Lord JAMES Lettres sent to them at that tyme.*

Maye it please your honors to understand, that the larde Lydington and I had bynn with you before this tyme, had it not bynn for the sicknes of therle of Arrain, who, for four dayes, was very sore troubled, and nowe very well recovered. We trust to see you as sone, or shortly after this berer, desyering your honours somewhat to doo concernyng the lorde James lettre sent by this berer. 19 November.

BARNABIE.

From St Andrewes.

[Seal---An Oak Tree.]

* Received the same day a lettre from the commendatour of St Andrew to sir R. S. and sir J. C. requyring them to impeche and defeate such monsieur de Rubayes purposes and practises with the quenes majestie as he is directed withall from the douagier.

No. CXLV.

Sir RAFE GRAYE to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

Wheras, I have receyved letters from Munser Dovse, by a servant of his, for the restitution of certen goods, which was wethered even into Rosse, by a sheppe lattle wraked ther, as the same letters herin enclo-

* What follows is written by sir R. Sadler.

sed purperteth. At my last beinge at Berwyk with your worship, I declared, that the same goods was gone of my grownd by the same Frenchmen, which was (as they seyde) factors therof; and allso the lord of Ulchester confessed the receipt therof, as I have declared unto the saide Munser Doveses servant, which, notwithstanding I owe no auensuer unto him therein, yet I thowght good to advertise your worships therof by this berer, my servant, who is bayleffe of the same grownd; for that yf the same Frenchmen be ther, maybe called befor your worships, that the same bayleffe maye declare that same which he can seye therein, seing the same servant hath mad wrong enformacion unto Munser Dove, the goods yet to remayne upon my grownd, which is not so, as knowethe blessed Trinite. From Shillingham, this xxij of November, 1559.

Your most assured to command,

RAUFFE GRAY.

No. CXLVI.

Lord HUME to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

RYCHT HONORABELL,

Efter my werray hartlie comendacions in leffull manner, it will pleis zow to be advertist, yat Thomas Clavering contynnevit the daytrevece upone Monynday was viij dayes to yis last Monynday, and now he contynevit ye same without writing, or ye appointin of any new day, throuthe quhilk occasion, as I do tak, he gewin the theffis incurisment to comit mony attemptits, and speciallie theis yat is under the said Thomas Claverings rell tua servands of his, callit Thome Smytht and Damsany, duelland in Norhame, come to Katchebraw, and yair staull ane certane scheip; and ye attemptit is sua manyfest, that he sayes he hes ane Inglisman to awowe it to zour lordship, nocht douting bot zour lordship will pout rameid yair into as appertenis, as

I salbe redye to do ye symmyable. Forder, it will pleis zow to appoint ane newe meting, quhen ze may conwenyentle keip it, (for I am informit that zour lordship is maid wardane ;) nocht forzeting zour lordships gentilines of ye ramembring of me, and sending me tua kippill of hounds, quharof I hartlie thanke zour lordship ; all uyer thingis I raffer to zour lordships answer. And thus committis zour lordship to ye keiping of Almychty God. Of Home, the xxij day of Nowymber, 1559.

Zour lordships lowing freind lefullie,

ALEX. HUME.

No. CXLVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to THO. RANDALL.

Syns the writing of your lettres from Striueling, we have ben in contynuall expectacion of the lord of Lydington's and your arryvall here ; and therefore have forborn to write any thing till we might have spoken with you ; but because this berer hathe somewhat pressed us to have an answer, we do therfore signefie unto you in few words, that as we be most sorye that the lords of the congregacion are for a tyme defeated, and interrupted of their intended enterprise, so we trust, that they woll, nevertheles, have such regarde to themselffs, as their enemyes do take no further advantage ayenst them ; and whensoever they shall prepare themselffs to seke the revenge, they shalbe assured to have such ayde and helpe at our hands as, God willing, they shalbe able to accomplish theyr hole desyre and purpose ; as when the saide lord of Lydington and you shall arryve here, you shall knowe at more length. 22 of November, 1559.

No. CXLVIII.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

After our most hertie comendacions. Lyke as we perceyve by the lettres, addressed unto us from the lords, you and others of the quenes majesties pryvey counsell, what preparacions are intended there hitherwards both by see and lande, so we have thought good to signefie unto you, that, in our pour opynyons, it shall not be amisse to stay somewhat your determynacions in that parte, till you shall here more of the protestants intents and purposes, which you shall shortely understonde by the lord of Lydington, whom we howrly loke for ; for by him, as we thinke, you shall gather such matier, as may eyther staye or accelerate your saide preparacions, and so may you tyme your proceedings, as you put the quenes majestie to no further charge then shalbe nedefull. The brute contyneweth still of the queen douagiers deth, and yet we can not lern the certentie therof, but we judge that to be the cause of Lydingtons so long taryeng hens ; for the wynde hathe served so well, that he might have ben here or this, if there had not ben som cause to stay him. 23 of November, 1559.

No. CXLIX.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to the Lords and others of the Quene Majesties Privie Counsaile.

It may like your good lordships to understande, that your lettres of the xvth of this present we receyved the xxij of the same. And where as we do perceyve by your lordships saide lettres, that, consi-

dering the stirres in Scotlande betwext the French and the Scotts, your lordships being therfore of opynyon, that, for the more suretie of this pece, the nombre of iiij m. men of warre, more then be here presently, were necessary to be levyed, and sent to this towne and frontiers, have nevertheles, because your lordships are in doubt how they shoulde be victualled here without a more convenyent warning, resolved to sende hither, but m.m. (2000) for the purpose aforsaid ; requiring us, therefore, to see that nothing be omitted, specially in provision of victuall, that may serve to tende to that purpose ; and as we shall thinke thereof, so to write our opynyons with all spede ; and, further, to advertise of such lack as is here, eyther for defence of this towne, or for such further service as the quenes majestie shalbe constreyned to advaunce uppon these frontiers for the safetie of her realme, from the evill purposes ment by any that shall prove to become her enemies. It may please your lordships tonderstand, that as, in our poure opynyons, the charges of the levieng, and sending hither of the saide number of men, and keping of them here, specyally at this tyme of the yere, may seme to be superfluous, if the same be ment to none other purpose then for the suretie and defence of this towne. So we thinke nevertheles, that albeit the stirres in Scotlande be now a litle quyeted, yet the same may percast be so revived, and the matiers may so fall out there, that the sending hither of the saide number of men may serve to very good purpose, if ye meane to employe them in any further servyce then to the defence of this towne and frontier ; but we see not, that for the onely defence and suretie of this pece, or of this countrey, the quenes majestie shall nede to be at any further charge then her highnes is at alredy before the next spring of the yere, onles there be any preparacion made in Fraunce of any grete ayde and power of men of warre to be sent from thens into Scotland then is there at this present ; wherin, nevertheles, we yelde to your lordships wise determynacion and iudgement. And for the better victualling of them, we thinke we must be fayn to lodge and bestowe them abroad here in the countrey ; for, as your lordships shall perceyve by Abington,

who is on his way towards the courte, there is not sufficient in this towne to serve for the souldiours and workemen, which be here alredy for iij monethes ; for the supplye whereof we doubt not but your lordships, uppon the sayde Abington's arryval there, woll take such order as shalbe convenyent. And further, where as your lordships wolde understande in what state the treasurer here standeth, it may like you to witte, that he is still in Yorkshire, where he hathe remayned almost thes iij monethes for the recite of money for the payment of the garrisons here, so that we can not advertise your good lordships of the state of his office untill his retourne ; but as farre as we can lerne, he hathe not yet receyved somoche as, with the somme of iij m^l. to be defalked for victualls, &c. to the souldiours here, woll furnishe the debt due in July last, and syns that time the debt is increased for iij monethes and more ; the monethly charge amounting, as we can esteme it, to xxvij, or therabouts.

Fynally, Touching such other lacks as we have here necessary to be supplied and sent hither for such purposes as be mencyoned in your saide lettres, it may please you to wite, that I sir James Croft lately sent up a boke, conteyning a perfite declaracion of all such kynds of armour weapon and amunycion, and of the store of powder remaining, as well in this towne as at Newcastle, and other places here in these north parts ; not doubting but your lordships, uppon the view of the same, can sone make an estymate what is necessary to be added and supplied for the purposes aforsaide ; and as sone as we can, we shall, uppon som consideracion to be had in that parte, sende your lordships an estymate what we thinke mete to be supplied, both in case of defence of this towne and frontier, and also for the furnytur of an armye, if the case shall so require. 23 of November, 1559.

No. CL.

The Lord HUME to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

RYCHT HONORABILL,

Eftir my hartlie commendacions in lefull maner. Thes salbe to call unto zour remembrance, that I have writtin to zou for ane appoyntment of meting betuix us for the further setling of justice to the observationn of the godlie amite, and peax-standing betuix thir realmis, and as zit hes gettin na answer. Quharfore, I require zou, in my maist hartlie maner, to sende to me zour resolut answer thairunto in writ with this berar, that I may perfitlie understand quhat I may lyppin. For all uther thing referris to zour advertisement. And thus committis 'zou to the governance of Almyty God. Fra Home, the xxv day of November, 1559.

Zour loving frend lefully,

ALEX. HUME.

No. CLI.

PATRICK WHITLAW to Sir JAMES CROFT.

RYCHT HONORABLE SIR,

Efter lefull commendationis. Pleis zow to be rememberit, yat I spak with zow anens the vanting of my oxin and ane meir and an foll, quhilk ves stown fra me, as ze knaw, desyrand zour M. to be my gud freind yair intill and siclyk, desyrand yat ze vill speik vith maister Sadller to be gud intill it. Mair owr ye queyn is lewand, and hes bein varra sick, and is not zit veill convalessit. The stelars of my oxin is

Ade Achesoun, alias Pasar, Scottisman, Jone Zounger, Inglisman, dwelland in Itall. Thir are the resettars of my oxin: Roben Vadderat, dwelland vithin Anwick Park, ane of the fostaris of ye vod, hes fowr of yem; Roben Bakars, in Branxtoun, hes thre of yem, and the foll of the meir; the quhilk I sall gar Inglismen, testifie yat yae saw yem in in yair plewis, and cwm and tell zowr M. and zowr answer vith this berar, quhat ze vill intill it. And God keip zow. At Cowburspethe, ye xxiiij day of November.

Be zowr lefull freind,
PATRIK QCHITLAW,
off yat Ilk.

No. CLII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

After my harty commendations. With long looking for some good thyng thence, I have of late forboren to wryte. At this present monsieur Ruby is here, and hath spoken with the quenes majesty this daye. His errand, I thynk, be to goo into Fraunce, and, by the waye here, to expostulate uppon certen greeffs in that quenes name. He telleth many tales, and wold very fayne have the quenes majesty beleve that he sayth truth. He sayth, that the Scottes report they have had vjm^l. (6000l.) in ayde from England; and if that had not bene, the matter had bene quited. He sayth, that Barnaby accompaneth the erle Arrayn, of whom the French speke very dishonorably for his revolt from Fraunce. He sayth, the quene there knew of Druries being there to view the towne of Lethe, and what counsell he gave for the asayling thereof; and that Somersett also was there, and ij or iij moo capteyns, and offred them ayde. Of Ormeston, he sayth, that with the 1m^l. (1000l.) was also taken a bill, wrytten by one in

Berwyk, entitlyng the dyversitees of the coyne, viz. of royalls, English crowns, angells, and French crownes. He sayth, that Ledyngton is coming with offers hither. Well, the quenes majestie hath answered them as was mete; that there tales have manny parts, and require proves, which, if they bryng, hir majestie will gyve order to punish this falte in any subiect that she hath. As for Ormeston, he can best tell where he had the monny; and thus, ye must thynk, theis talks have served the French much tyme to delate.

He also, from the dowager, maketh request, that a proclamation might be made, that no Scottish man shuld come into this realme without hir passport. The French ambassador* also, in his master's name, requyreth, that order might be gyven to our havens, that if any of his masters shippes, now passing into Scotland, shuld arryve by tempest in any our havens, they might be well and frendly used. Theis ij requests ar worth delaye in answer, and so ij or iij dayes hence they shall have answer. Ruby, notwithstanding, departeth to morrow; and Ross stayeth for answer to Scotland. He hath brought lettres from the quene, to demand restitution for the ij shippes lately dryven on land nigh yow. I see not but in iustyce the quenes majestie must permitt restitution, if it be not for the armure. If Ledyngton be not come, in any wise take order with hym that more secretnes be used both in his iorneye and arryvall than hath bene used. Of all other, these Scottes be the oppenest men that be. Of Abyngton I here yet nothyng; but my lord tresorour, Mr Cave, and Mr Sackvile, have chardge of victelling that towne.

Lettres be gone to send thither ij m. (2000) men, under the leading of men of good worshipp; out of Yorkshyre 300, Lancashyre 300, Nottingham 200, Derbyshyre 300, Cheshyre 300, Salopshyre 300,

* Michael Leury, the ambassador in ordinary from the court of France.

Stafford 200, &c. And so I take my leave ; wishyng to here some certainty of the rest of your next quene. 25 November, 1559.

Yours most assured,

W. CECILL.

[The direction by Cecill.]

To sir Raff Sadler and sir James Crofts,

Knights, at Barwyk.—W. CECILL.—

For liff, liff, liff. 25 Nov. at Westm.

Received at Styellton the xxvij daye of November, at syx of cloke at nite.

Received at Neuerke the xxviij day of November, at ix of the klok in the mornyng.

Received at the xxviij day of November, at ij of the cloke at afternoon.

Received at Newcastle, the fyrst of December, at xj of the cloke before noone.

No. CLIII.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

It may like you tunderstonde, that on Thursday last arryved at Holy Islonde the lord of Lethington and Thomas Barnaby, and when the night com, I sir James Croft receyved them into the castell here secretly ; they brought us lettres from therle of Arrayn, the lord James, commendatour of St Andrewes, and Mr Balnaves, which we sende you herewith ; and yesterday we had conference together at good length ; and do perceyve that the lords of the congregacion do stonde fast, and be as earnestly, or rather more earnestly, bent and determyned to folowe their enterprises, and seke revenge uppon the Frensh, then ever they were. And from them the saide lord of Lethington is now speciallye

depeched to the quenes majestie with lettres and instructions, to seke and sue for ayde at her highnes hands; without the which we see not, as we have alwaies sayed, that they be able to achieve their desyres, we have practised with him, having, besides his instructions, speciall credence committed unto him to frame their sute to the quenes majestie in such forme, and according to such articles as you sent unto us, which we had written out for him, as though the same had ben devised by us to shew our good wills and grete desire to further their cause; the substance whereof he liked very well, and wished that he had ben so well instructed before his comming from the saide lords, to thintent he might have brought the same under their hands, which, he sayeth, is to be obteyned at all tymes; and now, at his being here, he hathe written therof unto the saide lords, and also hathe advertised them of such other comfortable matier as he hath receyved here at our hands, according to your late advertisements. This morning, before day, he and Barnaby are departed hens towards you, and intending to make all the spede they can; and if you thinke it mete to have them bestowed anywhere aboute the court secretly, it were not amisse that you sent som man to mete them at Ware or Waltham, to convey them to the place which you shall thinke mete for that purpose.

We have forborn to sende capitayn Randall to the saide lords at this tyme, for that we se no cause thereof; considering that they intende not, ne yet can, as farre as we perceyve, prepare themselffes to the felds very shortely in this ded tyme of the wynter. But as we have lerned by the saide lord of Lethington and Barnaby, they have divided themselves, and do lye at Glasco and St Andrewes to kepe themselffes in strength, to stay those countreys, and by all such good meanes and practises as they can use to make mo frends, as well of the nobilite as others, to take parte with them in this their commen cause; and so they have resolved to repose and rest awhile untill the retourne of the said lord of Lethington from the quenes majestie; intending, nevertheles, as he sayeth, if they see any advauntage to be

taken ayenst their enemies in the mean seasoun, not to pretermitte the same. The rest we referre to the declaracion of the saide lord and Barnaby, by whom you shall understonde all things touching this afayre more perfutely, and at more length, than we can expresse in wryting.

The number of the French now in Scotland exceedeth not xxvc. (2500,) so that if there com no greter powr out of France, the matier wolbe the more easie; but if there shalbe sent more ayde and powr out of Fraunce, the same must be empeched by your navie there, or ells it wolbe the more difficile. And therfore it behoveth, that ye herken well, and have good espiell uppon their doings in Fraunce, to the intent ye may the better mete with the same as the case shall require, which, in our poure opynyons, is not to be neglected. 25 of November, 1559.

No. CLIV.

Instructions for the Lorde of LIDINGTON, how to conceyve and directe the sute and complaynte of us the Nobles, Gentlemen, and Burgesses of Scotlande in this our distresse, to the Quenes Majestie of Englande.

Ffyrst, He shall declare unto her majestie, in the name of us, the nobilite, and the hole estates of the realme of Scotlande, the crueltie and tyrrannye of long tyme exercised by the Frenche; that is to say, by the lieutenaunts, capitaynes, and souldours, uppon the saide realme. And herein the saide lorde of Lidington shall declare and enlarge all such enormities and oppressions made uppon the subiects of our nacionn of Scotlande by the French as he can call to his remembraunce, using therein such order of tyme and such treuth as the same were don and commytted.

Secondely, To declare our long sufferance, and frequent complaynt, to the douagier, and the lacke of remedie thereof, by her not onely fo-

lowing, but further outrages and enormities by herself abusing her commission, and bending herself and her power both with fraude, corruption, and force, to the subversion of our nacioun, and to make a conquest therof to the crowne of Fraunce.

Thirdely, To show how of necessite for saving of the realme of Scotlande in state, for delyveraunce of our hole nacioun from conquest, and specyallye for preserving not onely the families of such noble men as by bloode be next inheritors after the Frenshe quene our sovereign, having no yssue to the crowne, but also all the rest of the nobilite favouring the contynuaunce of the kingdom of Scotlande in the naturall bloode of the same, we were forced, with the lamentacioun of our hole nacyon, to assemble our selffs together, as the noble men, gentilmen, and burgesses of Scotlande, to consulte, and as humble subiects to make sute, that this violence and oppression of the French might be removed; wherein we were so abused by promises, and dishonorable breking thereof, that if God had not assisted us with good courage, we had ben, under pretence of fayre woords, utterly ruynated and distroyed, and the hole countrey bereaved of all our aunceyent trew barons and men of service, and the crowne conquered and unyted to the crowne of Fraunce: For eschewing whereof, we have openly declared our selffs redy to aventure our lyves, lands, and goods, to defende the crowne from subversion of the same out of the native bloode of Scotlande, and therefore remayning in harte trew subiects to our naturall soveraigne lady, now (to the greate misfortune of the realme of Scotland) maryed to the Frensh king, we be fully determyned to expell all such as have laboured with the old quene to conquere this realme.

Fourthely, To thintent the quenes majestie of Englande may certainly understonde this our complaynt to be trew, besides dyvers particularitees of the Frenche procedings, tending to the conquest of Scotlande, we do let her majestie to understonde, that most trew it is, that this practise of the French is not attempted onely ayenst this kingdom of Scotlande, but also agaynst the crowne and kingdomes of Ing-

lande and Irelande ; for we knowe most certainly, that the French have devised to sprede abroad, (though most falsely,) that our quene is right heire to Inglande and Irelande ; and, to notefie the same to the worlde, have, in payntings, at publique justes in Fraunce, and other places this yere, caused the armes of Englande, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with tharmes of Scotlande ; meaning nothing lesse then any augmentacioun to Scotlande, but to annexe them both perpetually to the crowne of Fraunce. And, to declare playnely their meanings in this coniunction of tharmes of Inglande and Scotlande, they have, in writings in waxe, and in publique seales, written, engraven, and adioyned the stile of Inglande and Irelande to the stile of Fraunce, naming the French king, husbonde to our quene and soveraigne, king of Fraunce, Scotland, Inglande, and Irelande, &c. Wherein, also, they have further proceded, and secretely sent into this realme of Scotlande, a seale, to be used for the quene, with the same stile ; and, in maner of dispite to the crowne of Inglande, they have sent to the douagier of Scotlande a staffe for her to rest uppon, having graven in the toppe the said usurped armes. And hereunto the saide lorde of Lidington may adde such other matiers as be in lyke maner devised by the French to the preiudice of Inglande ; whereby, although the honour and right of the quenes majestie of Inglande is not abassed, yet by the same it is manyfest what the scope and determynacion of the French is agaynst the crowne of Inglande ; whereof, as men warned by our owne daungier, we can not but give her majestie som notice.

Fyvethelie, Considering our soveraigne lady is maryed to the French king, and not onlie her name, by certeyn prowde and insolent ministers sent out of Fraunce, is abused, but also, by the new auctorytee of the house of Guise, herself ledde and persuaded to be content that the realme of Scotlande shoulde be perpetually knytte to her husbonds crowne of Fraunce, (whereunto we thinke surely of her own propre nature she can not be disposed,) and so the bloode royall of Scotlande should be extincted, the realme conquered, the lawes and libertees of

the lande altered, the people brought in captivite, and made as it were bridges of bludde by warre to invade Ingland, and to pursue their thirstie and ambitious desires against that kingdom. We, therefore, do most humblie beseche the quenes majestie of Ingland, as the next prince to us, and one of whom we have harde most noble and vertuous reporte, that she for herself woll not be abused by the daylie and frequent persuasions of the French haunting her courte, and daylie passing and repassing her realme, to thinke that this our assemblee in force hath growen uppon any other occasions but for the naturall defence of this realme from conquest. Neyther that we do hereby withdrawe our harts and dueties to our sovereign ladie, to whom we wyshe all honour and felicitie, and for the weale of the kingdom of Scotland, to which she was borne, to be made free from all French counsailours, and to be only addict to the advise of her naturall borne subiects, in all cases touching the regiment of the realme of Scotland. Whereby, we be persuaded, she shoulde be advised to owe her love and duetie to her husbonde, being her hed and lorde of her bodie; but as for her kingdom, to permitte it to be ruled by the naturall born people of the same.

And furder, also, we thinke by such she shoulde be persuaded not to delite in this maner of iniuste and dishonorable usurpacioun of the armes, stile, and titles of other kingdomes than her owne; whereby must nedes folowe unkyndnes, yea, such as shall in consequence brede mortall warres. Also, we most humbly beseche the quenes majestie of Inglande, that she woll not onely conceyve this trew opynyon herself, but also, as occasion shall serve, procure that both other princes of Christendom may understonde the trewth hereof, and also her owne nobilitee and people of Inglande, and not to condempne us in our naturall and most iust defence.

Fynally, We beseche her majestie, both for our preservacion, and, as we may, do give advise to her majestie for the consequent preservacion of herself and her kingdom, (the conquest whereof undoubtedly the French have long sought, and now do certeynly determyn,) that it

will please her, of her most noble and pryncelie nature, as the prince planted by God next to us, and within one lande and sea, to receyve us and the auncient libertees and rights of this kingdom of Scotland, with the hole nacyoun and people of the same into her most gracious protection from the furious persecutionn and the intended conquest of the French ; allowing to us alwayes our naturall dueties and obeisaunce to our sovereigne lady and quene in all things that shall tende to the honour of God, the weale of her realme, and to the preservacion of her person from the treasons of the French agaynst her naturall countrey ; wherein, we trust, her majestie shall please Almightye God, not offende the right of the quene our sovereigne, but procure perpetuell love betwixt the people of thes realmes ; a thing moche desired of all Christiens, saving the French onely, and in the ende preserve her owne kingdomes, and acquire an immortall fame amongst alle princes. 24 of November, 1559.

No. CLV.

The Lorde CLINTON to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Aftar my harty comendacyons unto you. Wher as my lord of Northumberland hath lately advertised my lords of the counsell of a ship lately cast a land ; wherein his lordship requyerd the lords of the counsellis plesure what shold be don with the sayd goods ; wych matter being insedent to my offyce, ther lordships hath wrytyn to my lord, that the same goods shold be delyverd to my offycers,* to aunsar the same to soch as it shall apertayne, in case it be no wrak nor goods forfet ; if it be, then is it myne, by vertew of my ofyce ; wherein I have thought mete to requyer your favar, that my offesars ther may have your assystance in soch causis as aperteyne to sayd my office,

* Lord Clinton was lord admiral.

wych I shall most gladly requyte, if it lye in me. Thus praying you, that the letters herwith sent you may be delyvered accordyng to the derecsyon. I wysch you long lyff in helth. From the corte at Westminster, the xxvth of November, 1559.

Your assurid lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

*To my lovyng and very assurid frends syr
James Croft and syr Raffe Sadlyer,
Knights, at Barwyk.*

No. CLVI.

NYNAN MENVELL to Sir R. SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

My dewtye to your honores consideryd. It is not paste your remembrans the maner of my comyng doune frome London with derecyons to your honores, and for the conveyance of the bushope of Hargylle* into Scotlande; whyche matter being endyt by your wysdomes, I was more earnest than by cam me for a hastye delyverans at your hands; whyche, throwghte your gentlenes, I eslye optenyd, and so I trustyd to have hade lyke expedyssyon at the hands of my lorde of Northethumberlande, for the matter betwen Fetherstonhawghte† and me for my cheynne of golde in his hands, to the value of xxix^l. (29 l.) to gydther with fyve pounds of money, in whyche matters this was my spede. I optenyd manye letters of my lorde of Northethumberlande for his apperans, but fynallye he apperyd not; and I sustenid greate troble and coste with the convayans of the saide letters,

* See page 495.

† The very ancient family of Featherstonhaugh of Featherstonhaugh, in Northumberland, was at this time represented by sir Albany Featherstonhaugh, who was high sheriff of Northumberland in the 2d of queen Elizabeth.

and also losse tyme in my other bussynes; but pryncypallye I pretermytted my dewtye, and haythe not ben as yet at London with your honorable letter. Notwithstanding the matter, as I beleve, requyrythe no suche hayste, but that yt may tarrye to my comyng to London, whyche I have appoincted, and maide my excusse to Master Secretor-rye assuring my being there, whyche I have appoincted to be the xvth daye of the next monthe. In the meanne tyme, I humble requyer your honores to drect your letters to Halpyeny Fetherstonhalf of Fetherstonhalfe, to appere affore your honores at Barwicke, or in eny other place of Northethumberland, of Mondaye, or of Twesdaye, whyche shalbe the iiijth or the vth daye of the next monthe. And also that it will please your honores to sende your letters by poste to the saide Fetherstonhalfe, to gydther with a letter to me, who is remanyng in Newcastle for other bussyness; and humble dessyers that I maye knowe your pleassures, and I shall make my repaire to your honors to resaeue justice in the premisses. I know yt is fer frome my dewtye this that I have donnen to wryte so pefeashe to your honors. But the wisdom and gentlenes of your honors will beare with my weaknes, to gydther with justyces, wherof I have ben^o longe defraudet. And, fynallye, I dowte not but my lorde Robert Dudley, my lorde, my master,* will shew lyke frendshype to your honors when occacyon shall serve. And I, for my parte, am bounden servande to your honors to the uttermoste of my poure, as knowithe the leving Gode, who increasse you with myche honore. From Newcastle, the xxviiijth of this instant monthe.

Your honors at commandement,

NYNAN

MENVELLE.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

And it please your honors to wryte to Fetherstonhalf, I wold wyshe

* Afterwards earl of Leicester, the celebrated favourite of queen Elizabeth.

that your letters wher not disobeyd and lawghte to scorne, as was the letters of therlle of Northethumberlande; and for awnswere of your pleassures what I shall do, I requyer so mcyhe gentlenes at your hands, that I maye have the same at Newcastle off Thursdaye next, the last of this instante, at the Poste housse, whyche is my logeyng.

*To the ryght honorable sir Raufe Sadler,
knyght, one of the quenes majesties pre-
vy counsell, and to the ryght honorable
sir James Crofte, knyghte, capten of
the castle and town of Barwicke.—
Haste, poste haste; haste, with all pos-
sable delygens; haste, haste.*

No. CLVII.

Sir JOHN FORSTER to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

Accordinge to your commandement I have bene at Hexam, and recevid the office of Tendall of Marmaducke Slyngsbye. At my comynge thether, I thought to have perfitelye knowen by him the holle staite of that office. I requirede to have hade of him a booke of all the offendours with in that office; whereby I might throughelie understand and knowe the number of the obydent subiects from the rebelles. I requierd to knowe what warnynge he hede geven the bandesmen* of Tendall for there apperaunce that daie? His answer was, that my lord hade discharged him of that office the xvijth daie of this instant, and that he was no officer but by your commandement. Notwithstanding he had written a lettre unto the bailleves of Tendall warde, to warne certen of the bandesmen of the contrye to be at Hexham, as

* That is, such Borderers as had given bond to the warden, or keeper, to appear when called upon, to answer for offences charged against them.

you shall persaive by his lettre herein closed ; but for all that, there was no apperance. Then I demandyd to have such delyvered in to my handes, as ware nomynate in the sedull that you sent me in your last lettre ; of the which nombere, I have receyved in the preson of Hexam ix presoners. Ande Jarrye Charleton, of the same hill, whiche appereth by the saide sedolle to have bene at the Newcastill, he is delivered home upon bande. The coppie of the whiche bande I have sent you herein closed, albeit thaie knowe not that I have that coppie. And for the rest of the bandes, thaie ware in the coustodie of his brother,* so that he could delyver ne more. Thus rawlie levinge the office, he departid ; and then I sent warnyng throughe out all Tendall, that thaie shulde met me at Chepchase upon Sondaie last, and such as came not, I shulde oppenlye proclame them rebelles. The saide daie the most parte of all the holle countrie came unto me without eny such assurance, as thaie have bene accoustomed to have of other there kepperes heretofore ; whereof many of them ware such as haive bene rebelles theise towe yeres by past, and never came nether to my lord nor Mr Slengsbye. There was great sut mayde to me by certen there frendes, that there might comme and goo sayfelye to speke with me ; but that I utterlye denyed, unles thaie wolde comme and submet them selves as duttifull subiects unto the quenes majestie. Thus inthend thaie did com in, and put themselves in here highnes mercie. I have maide a boocke of all there names, and delyverd the charge of that evell country unto Mr Herron, till your plesour be further knowen in that behalf. For the staie whereof, dubte you not the same to be in better case then it haith bene of long tyme heretofore. The next neght after Mr Slengsbie's parture thence to welcome me to the office, there was certen sheppe stolen within a myle of Hexham (and as I thenke purposely don for despyte of me.) I handelyd the matter so, that on the morowe after the pore man was restored to his goods, and the offenders apprehendyd and hade to the gaole of Newcastill,

* Sir Henry Slingsby, often already mentioned.

with the reste of the presoners, which I recevyd of Slengsbye. On Sondaie. On Sondaie last I rode to church Welpington, where I apprehendyd towe notable theves, beinge gentelmen, called Fenwyckes, and have sent them lickewise to the gaole of Newcastle. I have sent John Halle in to Redesdell, to staie the same the best he cane. There is grete meseorder, and desobedience there, which requiers a spedie reformation; wherefore, if the charge of this countrey do remayn in your hands, I wolde there ware no tyme tracted for the putting of the same in good order. Your plesour knowen therein, I shalbe redy, from tyme to tyme, to accomlishe the same to thuttermost of my power, as knowethe Gode, who have you in his most holly teussion. At my house, neghe Alnewycke, this xxixth daye of November, 1559.

Yours most humble at commandement,

JOHN FORSTER.

*To the right worshipfull sir Rafe Sadler,
knight, lord warden of thest and med-
dell marches of England for anempst
Scotland. Hast, post hast, with all
possible delygence; hast.*

No. CLVIII.

Mr SLYNGSBYE'S Letter to the Balyves of Tyndale.

For as moche as sir Rauff Sadler, knight, havinge nowe the charge and rule of thes marches, hath appoynted on Thursdaye next, which shalbe the xxiiij of this instant November, at Hexham, to name and assygne a keeper for that countrey of Tyndall. And for the knowlege therof, and the direction to be taken, hathe commanded me to send for suche men of the countrey as ar requysyte to be called for that purpose. These shalbe therfore to requyr you to be there yourselfs; and also to gyve warnynge to all the persones undernamed to

be there with you, at Hexham, the said daie be ix of the cloke before noone, for thes causes, as you and they tende your dewtyes of obedience, and the welth of your countrey, at your and their perills. And thus fare ye well. At Newcastell, the xixth of November, 1559.

Charlton, of Haselesyde,	Hobb Robson, of the Fawstone,
Jaspar Charlton, of Hawrose,	John Mylborne, of Roesbowre,
John Charlton, of the Blacklave,	Edwarde Mylburne, of Dunsterde,
or his son,	Mychell Dodde, of the Yerehaughe,
Edward Charlton, of Hall hill,	Dodde, his sone,
Hector Charlton, of the Boure,	Jamy Dodde, of Roughsyde,
William Charlton, of Lee hall,	Hunter,
Edward Charlton, of Lordnerburne,	Hunter,
Wylliam Charlton, of Bellyngham,	Cristopher Hogge,
Charlton, of Dunterley,	Willie Hogge,
Symont Robson, of Langhaughe,	Mathewe Nyxson,
Andrew Robson, of the Bellynge,	

Your lovyng frend,

MARMADUKE SLYNGSBYE.

[Seal---a lion passant.]

*To my lovyng frendes, John Wylkynson
and Wylle Jamson, balyves of Tyn-
dale, geve theys and your selves
that same day.*

MEMORANDUM.*

That Jone Hall of Otterborne, Launcelot Tysley of Gosforthe, William Charleton of the Leye Hall, Jhone Hall of Brayneshaghe, William Charletone of Bellingham, and Clement Hall of Burdcheppe, is joynttelye and severallye bounde to the right honourable thearle of Northumberland, and Fraunces Slengsbye, keper of Tendall, in c and xlth. (1401.) for the personall apperance of Jarret Charletone of the Hawe Halle, at Newcastell, the xv^{ten} of Jannevary next comynge. The

* This memorandum is in the hand-writing of Sir John Forster.

band is taken to the quenes use. Daited the viij of November. His apperaunce is in Robrt Youngs house, in the Newcastell.

No. CLIX.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

It may like you to understande, that my lord of Northumberland, at his departing hens, because I shoulde have somewhat the more ado in this office of wardenrie, lefte the unruly countre of Tyndale voyde and destitute of a keper, for that his brother in law, Fraunces Slingsbye, wolde neds leave the same without any honest regarde or consyderacion of his duetie to the quenes majestie, how or in what order he lefte it. My saide lord wrote unto me, even uppon his departure hens, that the saide Slingsbye had given it up, because he was not able to give him such enterteynement as was mete to have it well executed, and therfore willed me to provide a new officer. And also, assone as my lord was gonn, cam to me Marmaduke Slingsbie, brother to the saide Frauncis, who supplied the saide office alwayes under his brother, and declared unto me, that his saide brother being discharged of the saide office by my lord of Northumberland, was gon with him into Yorkeshire, requiring me to appoynt whom I thought good to take the charge. I tolde him, the warnyng was very short and sodeyn; and, considering that it was not mete that the place shoulde be unfurnished, I required and intreated the sayde Marmaduke to remayn uppon the charge, as he had don for a tyme, till I might provide som mete man to receyve it at his hand; but the more I intreated him, the lesse regarde he had to his duetie in that parte; so that I was fayn to leave intreatie, and to charge him, as he wolde answer to the contrary, to contynue uppon his charge, till he might be orderly discharged; which, with moch ado, he was content with all, and so retourned to

Hexham, where he used before to reside for the execution of the office; a place nothing mete for that service. Within v dayes after, I required my frende, sir Jo. Forster, to repaire to Hexham to dyscharge the saide Marmaduke, and to commytte the charge to George Heron of Chipchase, who is mete, and also dwelleth very aptly for the same. And what is don therein by the saide sir Jo. Forster, you shall perceyve, by the copie* of his lettre, wrytten to me, whiche I sende you herewith; by the same you may understonde that good officers wolde sone bring this countrey unto som order. I have had somewhat to do to gett the saide G. Heron take upon him to be keper of Tyndale; which, nevertheles, he is content with for a tyme, more for my sake then for any profite or commodyte I have promysed him, to have consyderacion of his payn and travaile in that behalf, which I must and woll performe. I doubt not, sir, but you do consider, that by occasion of this office, I must nedes be at a grete dele more charge than I was before. And because you shall the better understonde it, I have thought good here to wryte it. I have more for frendeshippes sake then for any thing ells, gotten sir Jo. Forster to execute under me in the wardenrye of the middell marches, who, I assure you, is more sufficient for the same then I am; and I have promised him xiiij^s. iiij^d. (13s. 4d.) by the day, towards his charges for the tyme I shall have to do with it. Likewise, I have promised x^s. (10s.) a day to sir Rafe Grey for the est marches; and to the saide G. Heron, I must give at the leest v^s. (5s.) a day. My lord of Northumberland tolde me, that he gave Slingsbye xiiij^s. iiij^d. (13s. 4d.) a day. Such as have ben wardens here afore this tyme, willing to have the office well executed, have given asmoche or more enterteynement to gentilmen of this countrey for the lyke purposes. And besydes this, I have enterteyned xx horsemen to attende uppon me, and give them xx^s. a day. I never knew any southerne mann appoynted to this office with lesse enterteynement then v marks,

* Several erasures were made in the original letter of sir J. F. and some additions made by sir R. Sadler in the copy he sent.

or iiij¹. (4l.) a day, and c (100) horsemen wages, and yet they were more able to bere the burden of it than I am; and therefore my trust is, that it wolbe so consydered there, that as I desyre not to gaigne by such kynde of service, so you woll helpe that I shalbe no loser by the same; wherein, if it might please you, to make me som answer to that I have sondry tymes wrytten in this part, it woll moch content me. And so, &c. The last of November, 1559.

No. CLX.

The Copie of JOHN WOOD's Lettre to THO. RANDALL, deciphred.

I wishe you increace of all grace with you: That the 18 of Novembre their was come in Dunde 2 lettres of the douagiers to therle of Huntley and Marshall; wherin, after the narration of the siege of Lythe, she concluded at their sight to accept all good wayes, notwithstanding any thing past, to stop the warke of God betwixt us, no doubte; and for that same cause, directed open proclamations to all borowghes, that, notwithstanding their assistance to the congregacion, she willed not their distruction, but requyered them to send in 2 principalls of to obteyn pardon, readie for the asking. These were tane in St Johnston by my lorde Ruthen, and we contrar lettres proclaymed by him, the officer permitting, with 8 more, to execute lettres in her name, was dimitted; the lyke was doon to the duke in Glasco. Sone after the douager fell in a grevous sicknes, and was disparit of all men, but is partly convalest, but esperance of long lief, as is rehersit. An daye or twoo after her convalesing, tallking with on her familiar, saide, she marveled of the stiffeness of the lords of the congregacion, bothe in speciall of my lord James, who never did take rest to wyrke in her contrar, though uthers toke summe repose: when tyme serveth, she wold be myndfull therupon. The 22 daye of November, therle of

Arrain caused the baron of Pitterrowe* pas to therle of Huntley and the erle of Marshall,† to persuade them to trust him in Aberdyne, if they shulde not be persuaded to com to Brechin or Montrose; and, upon their aunswer, is determined to speake them. The 24 daye of the same, convenid therle of Arrain, the lorde James, my lords Rothies, Ruthen, master of Lindsay, provost of Dundee, in St Andrewes, according the ordenaunce made at while you wer there; and, first, resolvit to sett fourthe the of the counsail established by them, and to the same effect to my lord duke and the rest of the lords of the congregacion in Glasco, to be earnest in the same, as I doubt not but they shall. The same daye there yed a certain Frencheman, with the erle of Bothvile and lorde Seton, to Lithco; but when they cam nere the towne, hard the commen bell and tabbern, and withal reteirit so fierslie as man persuyng, while they lost summe weapins by the waye. The 25 daye, lettres were given oute to arrest all gudes apperteynyng to the duke, sir James Hamylton, the lorde James, the lorde Ruthen, the baron of Dundas‡, Brumston, Ormeston, Braid,|| with rome left for others, and to make inventarie therof, forbidding buyeng and selling with these persons, for trahison committed, as she alledgedh. I was secretlie advertised my lorde Bothvile spake with Ormeston, and is meint they are appointed. I have made diligence to trye the matter, but lokes as yet for aunswer. I cannot doubte of Ormeston his constance. The post com from the castell of Edynburgh to the lorde James the 24 of November, and syklyke upon the 29 of the same. The lorde James his awne servand, whom he had placed therto

* Sir George Wishart.

† William Keith, fourth earl marshal, who, from keeping quiet in the fortress of Dunnotar during all the civil wars of this period, obtained the surname of William in the Tower.

‡ George Dundas of Dundas, who was served heir to his father in 1554, and died in 1589. He held out his castle of Dundas, on the king's side, during the civil wars of queen Mary. Bannatyne gives an account of an attempt to surprise it by the Mowbrays of Barnbugle.

|| The laird of Braid was a zealous reformer. See an account of, and attack upon his house of Braid, in Bannatyne's Journal, page 172. The family name was Fairlie.

bye for the nonce, direct from the capten of the same, sheward the douagier had desiered the howse, and to persuade was first, send the clerk of the register; to whome he aunswered, as he had receyvit the same by parliament, so wolde he not deliver it withoute the same. She, not contented herwith, utterit she wolde have it: then cam the second ambassade, the denes of Glasco and Restalry; and while they were speaking the capten, summe of his freendes arrived, whome he, fearing the siege, had sent for, and who, at his desier, had brought with them an enseigne, and experimented cannoner; these entering by the low postren, and espyett by Frenchmen, wer first gentlie desiered the cannonyer shulde go to Charletons, and refusing, was forced by them. The castell perceving, issued, and with strakes from the block howse to the butter trone, releved him, and summe Frenches hurte. The ambassadors were glad to escape the fume of the capten, retourned but aunswer. The capten of the saide castell desiered the lorde James, and the others of the lordes of the congregacion, to drawe with these gentlemen of Sterling, and have their commons in readines. Advertisement is gon in all parts by proclamation, wherof receive copie. The lorde James hathe writen to the lords of the congregation at Glasco to spare them; and sykelyke to the saide capten, permitting secours baldly als well on your side as our side; he provin the honest man, as we hope he shall. This compelleth therle of Arrain and the lord James to send to Barwicke for ijm^l. (2000l.) to sir Rafe Sadler and sir James Croft, for succoring of the present necessitie. Alex. Whitlawe was readie to departe for the same the first of December. You please make Lithington to know the same. The last of November their was one of the douagiers victallers taken cummyng up the Fyrth by the lorde James botes, of Pittenwym, laden with wheate. I am now advertist surely by a freende, that Ormeston hathe put of therle Bothvile with faire woords, but any promes, and so driven tyme honestly. Take in good parte, I praye you, this my first warke, whilke, God willing, shall be amended with tyme. Ye please, make my humble commendations to Lythington, whome I not in my ciphre

thus ‡, and yourself thus, ‡; sir Wm. Cecill thus, ‡: whome, assuredly, I long, so my good lorde willith me, to make his hartie commendations; to whome lete ‡ have this other ciphre, that he maye knowe I am most willing to doo him service therewith, when ever he list commande me; but, above all, in this cause of coniunction, quilk the Eternall mought prosper. From the last of November, your owne in God.

JOHN WOOD,
whom I note thus ‡.

No. CLXI.

*Therle of ARRAIN and the Lord JAMES to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir
JAMES CROFT.**

After our hartie commendacions. Traist freends, we thanke you maist hartlie. Your kyndnes shewn towards us and our cause, and for the poudre we have receved. Albeit it was not our mynde to have charged you for an lang tyme with any support of money, yet the present necessite compelleth us, since the castell of Edynburgh standeth, as the berer will shew you, in suche daungier. In consideration wherof, most earnestlie desyers you to delyver to the berer, Alex. Whitlawe, twoo thowsand pounds; for, besides the other secours and furnishing, I, the lorde James, promised to him, as I was desiered by capten Drury, in Edynburgh, because we were desiered by Lethington's writing, to kepe it secret; we have not opened the same to the lords at Glasco; for experience hath learned us, that, passing 3 or 4 persons, it is no secrecie. The rest referring to the berer, Alex. Whitlaw, to whome give credence. From St Androwes, the last of November.

Therle of ARRAIN,
The L. JAMES.

‡ Different ciphers are marked in the original wherever this sign occurs.

* This is written in cypher.

No. CLXII.

The Names of certain of the Quenes Majesties Debtors, which are to be warned to appeare before Mr Rone, her Highnes Auditor, the xijth of December, 1559, at Barwick, to aunsver to their several Debttes.

Wydowe Orde,
 Launcelot Crambleton,
 John Cooke,
 Vicar of Hartborne,
 Vicar of Wooller,
 John Preston,
 Engram Sankeld,
 Robert Sclater,
 Reveley,
 The heires of Henrie Hagerston,
 Robert Wytherington,
 Rowland Forster,
 John Denton,
 Rafe Ferror,
 Luke Ogle,
 Thomas Carlisle,
 John Beverley,
 Roger Strouther,

Sergeants of thest marches.

Ant. Frenche, of Langton,
 Ric. Ferrer, of Tylmouth,

The Ladie Carnabie,
 Cuthbert Carnabie,
 Reignold Forster,
 Edward Bednell,
 Arthure Shasto,
 Richard Clerkson,
 The executors of John Lilbourn,
 Rouland Bradforth,
 Jn. Gallond,
 Sir Thomas Graye,
 Sir Rafe Graye,
 Martin Fenwick,
 John Lawson, of Calcots,
 The wyef of Rafe Fenwick,
 The heires of Rafe Wytherington,
 George Fenwick, of Brinckborn,
 George Clerkeson.

Of the middle marches.

John Heron, of Hall-Barn,
 Wymand Wylkenson, of Arrington.

ANTHONY RATCLIF, one of the undre shriefts of Northumberland.

No. CLXIII.

Sir RAFF SADLER and sir JAMES CROFT, to the Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsaile.

It may please your good lordships to understonde, that lyke as in our last lettres we wrote that we wolde sende unto your lordships a declaracion of such wants of ordenance, shotte, poudre, armour, and munycioun, as we thought mete to be supplied, as well for the furnytur of this towne, as also for an armye, if the case shoulde so require; so we have now accordingly sent herewith unto your lordships a booke, conteynynge all kynds of such ordenance and munycion as remayneth presently in this towne, and also of such wants as we thinke mete to be supplied from thens, both for the full furnytur of this towne, and also to furnish the number of iiij or v m. (4 or 5000) men to the felde whensoever the case shall so requyre. Referring the better consideracion thereof to your good lordships, either to augment or dymynysshe the same, as to your wisdomes shalbe thought convenyent. The first of December, 1559.

No. CLXIV.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFF SADLER, Sir JAMES CROFT, and Sir WM. INGLYBY, Knyghts, and to ROLAND JOHNSON, Surveieur of the Works at Berwick.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and welbelovyd, we grete you well. And whereas it is necessarie, as we understand, that certayne howses, standynge towardes the water syde there, within that our towne of Barwicke, where our new fortifications must be made, shalbe taken awaye; we let yow wit,

that, mynding that thowners of those howses be satisfied with a due recompence for them; our will and pleasure is, that, by vertue of thies our lettres, as our said workes shall require the taking awaie of anie of the said howses, ye do, in our name, call unto you the owners of them, and agre with them for the same, for as reasonable a price as you can bringe them unto, and as other owners of houses there have been used and delte withall in the like case heretofore. And according to suche price as you shall thus agree and bargaine with them, our further pleasure is, that you, sir William Ingolby, of suche our treasure as is or shall come to your hands, you content and satisfy them accordingly. And thies our lettres shalbe sufficient warrante and discharge to you and every of you for the doinge of the premisses. Yeven undre our signet at our pallace of Westmynster, the third day of December, the seconde yere of our reigne.*

[Arms of England and France.
Inscription of the seal, Elizabeth regina A. F. H.]

To our trusty and welbelovyd sir Rafe Sadleyr, sir James Croftes, and sir William Ingolby, knights, and Rowlande Johnson, surveyor of our works at Berwick.

No. CLXV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

Yesterday arryved here Alexander Whitlaw by see from St Andrewes, with lettres from therle of Arrayn and the lorde James, to you, the lorde of Lethington, and us. Som of them be in such ciphre as we be not acquaynted with; and therfore, as they cam to our hands, so we have depeched them unto you herewith. They wrote to us for m. m^l. (2000l.) as you shall perceyve by their lettres; the cause

* See a letter from the duke of Norfolk, upon the proper mode of executing this commission. *Haynes*, I. p. 228.

whye we thinke is at length dilated in the lettres in cipher to you and the saide lorde of Lethington. And as we perceyve by the saide Alexander Whitlaw, they intende fourthwith to assemble at Sterling, and there devise to levie som power for the relief and succour of the castell of Edynburgh; for that the lorde Erskyn having the charge and custodie thereof, hathe, by the douagier and the French, ben attempted almaner of wayes, aswell with large offers and promisses of rewarde, as otherwise by menaces and thretenyngs,* for the delyverie thereof into thands of the French, which, as we understonde, he hath utterly refused; and answered, that as it was delyvered and commytted to his charge and custodie by the hole consent of the realme in parliament, so he will kepe it till he be discharged therof by like auctoryte in parliament. With which answer the French being nothing pleased, have made som small attempts, and so farr fourth as their small power woll suffer, have made som countenance to besiege it, and som bickering hathe ben between them of the castell and the French, wherein a French man was slayn, and ij or iij hurt, as it is told us. Whereuppon the saide lorde Erskyn hathe sent to the lords of the congregacion for ayde, and hath required them to draw nerer Edynburgh, and to kepe their assemble and counsells at Sterling, to thintent he may the better have succours at their hands as he shall nede the same. He requireth also of the saide lords, as we perceyve by the saide Alexander Whitlaw, som relef of money, wherewith he may reteynn a convenyent number of men, and furnishe the castell with victuall sufficient; which having money he may, with the frendship that he hath of the towne and countrey, take into the castell at all tymes maugre the French. And the sayde lords have hereunto answered and promised him ayde, both of money and the rest, according to his desyre. For the which cause chiefly, and also to reteyne som nombre of soldiers in wages for their

* Knox says, that the French actually made gabions, and other preparations, for besieging the castle. But that the Lord wrought so potently with the captain, that neither the queen by flattery, nor the French by treason, were able to prevail.

more strength, they have required the saide m. m^l. (2000l.) which we have thought good to sende unto them by the saide Alex. Whitlaw, who hathe here a bote netely well appoynted for the conveyance of the same by sea.

The keping of the saide castell is, in our opynyons, a matier of gret importance; for if the French had it, then wolde they be masters both of Edynburgh and Legh, and rule at their pleasure the hole or the most parte of all the realme on thisside the Fryth; and therfore we have advised the saide lords by the saide Alex. Whitlaw, to loke well to it, and not onely to ayde the lord Erskyn, according to his desyre, but also to promise him largely to render it unto them, or, at the least, to kepe it out of the French power; and whatsoever they shall promyse him for the same, within the lymyts of reason, we have offred shalbe performed. And as we perceyve they be in good hope that he woll kep it, and honorably discharge himself towards them in that behalf.

The saide quene douagier languisheth still in grete sicknes; and, as we be credibly informed, her phesicians, and all others, out of hope of her recoverie, and thinke that she can not long conteynew. Other things worthie of advertisement, we have not at this tyme. And, &c. the vth of December, 1559.

POSTSCRIPTUM.*

We be infourmed that therle of Northumberland hath letten home therle Marshalls soon † upon band, wherunto we be not privie, but you maye inquyer the truthe of the saide erle; and if it be so, it were good that the band were sent unto us, to thintent we might call him to his entrie, as we see cause; and lykewise for the lorde Graye, whose bande also we thinke to be in the saide erles custodie. Furthermore,

* The postscript is written by sir James Croft.

† Lord Keith, whose bond may be seen a little higher, p. 561. He had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pinky, and as an exorbitant ransom (2000l.) was demanded for his liberty, he seems to have been a prisoner ever since.

because we understand that it woll be harde to victall the Frenche in Scotland, withoute greate furniture and provision oute of Fraunce, we thinke therfore, if you wolde devise there howe the same from tyme to tyme might be empeched by the seas, it wolde serve mucche to thadvantage of this affaire, wherof we doubte not you have suche consideration as the case doothe requyer.

No. CLXVI.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRAIN and the Lorde JAMES.

It may like your good lordships to understonde, that we have receyved your lettres of the last of November, addressed to us, and your other letters we have depeched to the courte by the post. And also, according to your requests, we have sent you by this berer, Alex. Whitlaw, m. m^l. (2000l.) to be employid in the furtheraunce and advancement of your commen cause; whereunto we doubt not your lordships woll have such regarde as aperteneth; and specially at this tyme it shalbe mete to use all your industrie and good polycie to preserve and kepe the castell of Edynburgh out of thands and possession of the French; or ells you may be sure if they gette it, ye shall lose all your countrey on thisside the Frith, and so consequently your hole realme shalbe in daungier of conquest; wherfore, you must earnestly persuade the lord Erskyn to kepe it out of the hands of the quene douagier and the Frenche, which, if he be a trew Scottish man, and woll mayntene to defende the fredom and libertie of his native countrey, he can not refuse to do; and, to that effect, let him lacke no assistance of money, men, and victualls, and such other things as shalbe nedeful. Furthermore, we doubt not but your lordships woll use all the good meanes and wayes ye can, to allure and wyne to your partie therles of Huntley, Marshall, and Morton, and the rest of the nobilitie, which

have not shewed themselves open enemyes to your cause at this tyme. Assuring your lordships, that, for our parts, we mervaile why they shoulde refuse to ioyne with you ; for if the French do prevaile ayenst you, which in dede intende to make a playne conquest of your realme, and to unyte the same to the crowne of Fraunce, which every man that woll see may perceyve they goo about, both by that they begyn to plante themselves there and fortifie, and also by their seking now of the castell of Edynburgh, having Donbar alredy. He hathe no iudgement that seeth not afore hande the utter ruyn of your hole nation, and that the same shalbe brought into perpetuell servitude and bondage ; which, if the hole nobilitie of Scotland wolde take one parte, and ioyne together in the defence of the liberte and fredom of their naturall countrey, as by the law of God and nature they are bound to do, might easely be so prevented, as the malyce of the French shoulde never be able to prevaile ayenst you ; wherin also, ye may assure yourselves of our ayde and assistance, both now and at all tymes as nede shall require. And what those noble men do meane, which in this case do sitte still and withdraw themselves from your partie, surely we cannot but mervaile ; for if they meane therby to save themselves, thinking to please the French, in that they do not shew themselves as open enemyes ayenst them ; in our opynyons, they take the onely way to distroye themselves : for this is most certeyn, that whatsoever face or outwarde countenance the Frenche doth shew towards them, they neyther have, ne yet ever woll have, any trust or confidence in any one of your nacioun. And if they may atchieve their saide intended conquest, doubt ye not but he that now sitteth still as neuter, yee or taketh playnn parte with them ayenst you, shalbe in as ill case, and have as litle curtesie and trust at theyr hands, as you and such other as shew themselves their open enemyes at this tyme. Wherefore, your lordships shall do well to persuade this matier substancyally to the hole nobilite of Scotland ; and with such other good reasons as ye can devise, to induce them to loke better to their owne suretie, and to ioyne with you for the preservatioun of themselves and theyr coun-

trey, which we doubt not your lordships can devise moche better then we can advise you.

Fynally, Understanding that your lordships have conceyved some ielousie and suspicion of the lord Ruthen,* that he is not of that syn-cerite and zeale towards the persute of your comen cause as reason wolde, whereof we wolde be sorye. We have thought good to signefie unto your lordships, that as it is not mete ye shoulde commyte unto him over moche trust and credite, if there be vehement cause why ye shoulde suspect him : so, nevertheles, we thinke it not goode that ye shoulde seme to mistrust him, but rather bere with him, and do what you can to recover and wynne him holly to your devocion. For surely as the tyme and case requireth, it is expedient that no good meane or occasion be pretermytted that may helpe to allure and draw any noble man or gentelman to your partie in this grete busynes, being in dede the comen cause of your hole realme, which, we doubt not, your lordships woll consyder as aperteyneth. And now to ende, as we have herein shewed you our opynyons as men of good will, and zelous to the furthuraunce and advauncement of your saide cause, so do we wishe unto your lordships such good successe and prosperyte in the same as your noble herts can desyre. The vjth of December, 1559.

No. CLXVII.

The Larde of LETHINGTON to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Efter my hartly recommendations. I haiff presently, by apoyntment of the quenis maieste, and hir maist honorabill counsall, direct

* Perhaps from his suffering the queen-dowager's proclamation to be published in Perth ; though there is some intimation of their suspecting the fidelity of this nobleman at an earlier period.

in Scotland, yis berar, Robert Mailville,* to understand ye mynd and resolution off ye lords in sum poynts, quharoff hir highnes is in doute and I am not specially instructit: quhais diligence and spedy passage wilbe ane gret furtherance to our commen caus. Quharfore I pray zow, yat it will pleis zow, sasone as he cummis to Berwik to further him with hors and guyde, upon his expensis, sa far as wilbe requisete for his suir conveyance. Quharin, as ze sall further ye caus, and do my lords plesour, sa sall ze more and more oblis me onto zow, quham I commit to ye protection off God. At London, ye ix day of December, 1559.

Zours assuritly to command,
WILLIAM MAITLAND.

POSTSCRIPT.

He is named in ye pasport David Heiburne, to disguise ye mater.

[Seal---A serpent entwined round a cross, placed
upon a scull, between the letters R. P.]

No. CLXVIII.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Sir WALTER CARRE. †

After my right hertie commendacions. You shall understonde, that yesternight, after our meting dyvers Scottishmen, to the nomber of xxx, or thereabouts, cam into Englande, and brake up the house of this berer, Antone Frenche, hurt him and his wyf, and toke from him xxx kyen and oxen, as he himself can better declare the circumstances of the matier unto you then I can write; wherefore, my trust is, that, considering the same is so notable a robberye, and committed within

* Brother to the laird of Raith, and to sir James Melville, author of the "Memoirs;" a confidential agent of the congregation.

† Sir Walter Kerr, of Cessford, warden of the east marches.

the tyme of thassurance graunted on both parts uppon our last meting, your zeale to the advancement of iustice is such, that you woll take such ordre as the same may be redressed and delyvered for out of hande without falow as aperteyneth ; least otherwise it may growe to suche inconvenience, as it wolde be over harde and diffcil for the wardens of bothe parts to staye the lyke offences. And so doing, you shalbe sure at all tymes to have the lyke at my hands whills I have any thing to do in this office, with any other pleasure that I can or may do for you to the utterest of my power. The xth of December, 1559.

No. CLXIX.

*The Copie of ALEX. WHITLAWES Lettre to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and
Sir JAMES CROFT.*

The night after my departing I arrived safelie, thanks be to God ! and fynding the lords in Cowpar at a convention, with the barons and gentilmen of Fife, I imparted suche things as your M. hathe declared unto me ; wherupon they have writen their mynds to the counsail in Glascow, willing them to convene the gentilmen in the west, that order may be taken how soone they shall assemble. Our gentilmen are verie willing to be at the feelds against their enemyes, but it is thought good to staye till your further advertisement. The suspended regent* is nothing amended of her disease. Woorde is sent to the castell, but not retourned with aunswer ; yet we looke for frendship on that parte. Other things I referre to the lords lettre. My lord dukes grace, and the rest of the lords in the west, are gon to take the lord Simples howse.† Our ships being at Burdeaux and Rochel for

* The lords of the congregation had pronounced against the queen-dowager a solemn sentence, deposing her from her office of regent.

† Castle-Semple, in Renfrewshire. The proprietor at this time was Robert, third lord

wyne, commandement cam from courte to staye men and shippes ; so they have stayed the masters which were on the shore ; but the mariners that was on bourde getting knowledge that the masters were taken, hathe brought awaye the shippes. We have taken a shipp of the douagiers, full of wyne. The lords are to passe in Angus to convene the gentilmen. Thus I committ you to thalmightie. From the castell of St Andrew, the vth of December.

Yours to commande,

ALEX. WHITLAW.

POSTSCRIPT.

After that the lords was departed to Dundee and their lettres directed, the lord Erskins aunswer cam to my hands, which I thought good tadvertise, which is, that he shall doo that becometh an honest man for the weale of his countrey. As for the castell, he woll not parte with it, but by the order he receiued it, which was by parliament. Further, the lords desiered him to send a secret man to them, to comen upon certain hedds that the wolde not write ; which he hathe promised to doo within 4 dayes. The hedes are the directions I receiued of you. As other occurres, ye shalbe advertised. Thus muche upon my departure to Dundee after the lords.

There is summe victallers com in of Frenchmen ; and we be advertised, that there is 2 enseignes of men com in them ; but I cannot write it for certain. There is powder, bullets, and other munition, wheate and wyne com in. The nombre of the shippes are 7.

Semple, a man of some talents. He remained attached to queen Mary until Darnley's murder, when he joined the king's faction, and was enriched by the spoils and confiscations of the Hamiltons.

No. CLXX.

*The Copie of therle of ARRAYNE's and the Lorde JAMES Lettre to Sir
RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

Trustie freends. After our most hartie commendation. We have received your aunswer by Mr Whytlaw, and thanks you most hartelie of his depeche. We have also understand his credit, and taken order to perfourme the same. And, first, hathe talked with the barons of the countrey, who, for the expulsion of these strangers, are most willing to bestowe their substance and their liefs. We have given charge to the captens to lyst a m. (1000) footemen, and ij c. (200) horsemen, and hathe promised them mousturs the xth of January. In the meane tyme, the barons are ever in a readines to list upon 48 howers warning. How soone we maye have all things in a readines we shall make you knowe, as we desier you to doo the same to us. We have, of all poynts necessarie, asserteyned the counsail in Glascow, and shortelie lookes for aunswer. The castell of Edynburgh is at good poynte, as we understand, and looks for advertisement therfro shortelie. It is reported here, there shoulde be 800 Franchis in readines; wherof we doubte not but you knowe the truthe; and if it so be, it shulde be a greate furtherance to our affaires to have them cutt of. We are traveling to have summe shippes to the sea assoone as we maye. Referring the rest to your advertisement. And so bids you most hartelie farewell. At St Andrews, the xjth of December, 1559.

By yours assured in God,

JAMES HAMILTON,

JAMES STEWART.

No. CLXXI.

The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privee Counsail to Sir
RAFE SADLEIR.

After our verie hartie commendacions. Where as, capten Randall with others, were, of late, sent to that towne of Barwicke to be employed in the quenes majesties service there : Thiese be, to require you to give order to the thresourer there, that they may have suche convenient entertainment untill they may be otherwise provided for, as you shall thinke mete for men of their haveour. And at the comming thither of the iiijm. (4000) men, being presentlye appointed to be sent, you shall do well, if any of the captaines, that shall have the conduct of the said nombers, do fall sicke, or be otherwise desirous to leve the charge committed unto them, to appointe capten Randall and the reste to some of those charges ; geving unto them, in meane tyme, suche good woordes to encourage them to service, as maye move them to conceive that there is care had of them ; and to returne backe the others that shall be discharged in suche good sorte as may be to their contentacion. And thus we bid you right hartely fare well. From Westminster, the xijth of December, 1559.

POSTSCRIPT.*

We thynk mete, that Mr Randall be otherwise considered than to have chardge but of ij or iijc. (2 or 300) men, consydering the place of service which he hath occupyed, and therfore better for hym to remeyn in a particular interteynment.

BACON, C. S. F. BEDFORD, W. HOWARD,
F. CLYNTON, PENBROKE, W. CECILL.

[Motto of the arms---*Pulchr. pro patria pati.*]

To our very lovinge frende sir Raphe
Sadler, knight. Hast, hast ; post
hast ; hast, with all diligence.

* In Cecil's handwriting.

No. CLXXII.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and welbiloved, we grete you well. By your lettres, sent in hast to our secretarye, bering date the ixth of this moneth, we perceve that ye be advertised of three hundred Frenchmen cam to Aymouthe, and of v.c. (500) moo cummyng the daye of your writting, to thintent to fortifye there; which is so directly both against the treatye, and the surete of that our town of Berwike, that although we have hitherto borne with diverse misordres at the French, yet can we not forbear to impech this violation of the peax. And therefore, our pleasure and commaundement is, that ye shall consyder this mater in this sort; that if it shalbe true that they becum thither, and do fortifye, or put any part of the sayd grounde in strength for their defence, that ye shall use your wisdoms therin. And if ye may fynde that, except they be quickly empeched therof, they shall growe to more strength, then our pleasure is, ye shall devise the best wayes ye can to expell them; having good regard to the defence of that towne upon your issuing of any force from thence. And if ye shall iudge the matter of more importaance, then may conveniently be done by your force presently there with the safetye of our towne; our pleasure is, that you, sir Rafe Sadleyr, having the charge of our frontiers there, do assemble such further succours as may tende to the removing of the sayd Frenchmen; and with all spede advertise us of your purposes. Gyven under our signett, at our pallace of Westminster, the xiiij day of Decembre, the second yere of our reigne.

[Arms of France and England.]

*To our trusty and welbeloved sir Rafe
Sadleyr and sir James Crofts, knyghts,
at Berwyke.*

No. CLXXIII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

The tyme tarrieth not, as ye see. This daye, your advertisement of the matter of Aymouth* maketh us styrr. The truthe is, we here ment before, that my lord of Norfolk shuld be at Newcastell before the end of this moneth; and my lord Graye there at Berwyk, to succede my lord of Northumberland in the est wardenry. Our shippes being xij men of warr, well appoynted, with viij or x victellers, and viij others, with munition, armure, powder, wer appoynted to depart by the 20 hereof. And now, this daye also, we understand, that 40 sayles be past from France with men and victell. So as ours be lyke to come to late, and yet they shall away, and a reenforce follow. The matter is to weighty to be trifled; and so we all now, at the last, doo iudge; wherein I wold to God some had bene of some more spedy foresight. Yow shall perceyve, by the quenes majesties lettre, that because it is a violation of the treaty to fortefy at Aymouth,† ye may be the bolder to be doing with the French: if ye see that they doo not fortefy, then are they to be forboren untill the matter may be more earnestly followed. For els it wer daungeroose to begyn the matter, and not to follow it with effect; and, on the other syde, if there fortefyeng shall seme a matter of difficulthe for us hereafter to expell them, it wer better to begyn in tyme with them. I thynk one whom Ledyngton hath sent by yow, wilbe there before this lettre iij dayes. Barnaby de-

* D'Oysel had before fortified Eymouth, a village on the coast of Berwickshire, and the garrison had proved troublesome neighbours to those of Berwick, from whom they were but six miles distant. At this time apprehensions seem to have been entertained that this place was again to be resorted to. Camden tells an improbable story, that D'Oysel assembled the Scotch nobles at Eymouth, and proposed to them (during the heat of their own civil dissensions) the immediate invasion and conquest of England.

† It was among the places appointed to be dismantled by the treaty in 1550.

parteth this night by Carlile away. And so I end. From the court,
ye xiiij of December, 1559.

Yours most assured,

W. CECILL.

Ye shall do well, to seme to the French, that the force ye shew to
expell the French from Aymouth, cometh not of any publick authori-
te. For in dede the order of the treaty is, that the prince offended
shuld furst require redress by word.

*To the right worshipfull and my very loving
frends sir Raff Sadler and sir James Croftes,
knights, at Barwicke, and to either of them.*

No. CLXXIV.

GEORGE HERON of Chipchase to Sir JOHN FORSTER.

After my very harty comendacyons. I shall desir yow to remember
my lady your bedfallo, and all other frends. And to certefye you for
the trew stayt of the contrye off Tendayll, the trewth ys, the great
nomber is in order obedyens, and, I trust to God, so to use them, that
thay shall not be otherwais. And when I perceiue any other that ar
not dewtyfull as subiects, for suche as I most nedes your consell or as-
sistans in, I will certefye yow as necessite requeryth. And because I
do perseawe, and am credabilly informyd, that the contre of Ledeis-
dayll* ys myndyt to mayk messorder, and to do the evell that thay
can in thes qwaters, I know thay can not do yt withowt the hellp of
som both off Tendaill and Redsdayll, as thay have had even now this
last Fryday, at nyght when thay dyd tayk up Smethop. For on part

* This disorderly district of Roxburghshire being under the immediate government of
Bothwell, was probably instigated by him to commence the incursions alluded to.

of them went away thorow Tendall with the prysoners, and an other torow Redsdayll with the nowt and theves of Tendayll, that wais goyng astellyng into Scotland, fownd the Scots with the nowt lyeng in the shells at Uttenshop in Reddisdayll at fyers, and had gotten meat bothe for horse and men at som off Reddisdayll. And when the theves of Tendayll perciewed that the Scotts was at rest, thay stayll the nowt from the Scots; and in the mornyng, when the Scots mest the nowt, thay dyd com into Reddisdayll again to boro a dog to follo; and then thay gat knowlege wheche of Tendayll had the nowt. Ye mayk serche wheche Reddisdayll ys offenders. And yff the offecer wull not bothe mayk them to be knawen to you, and get som of them to be punyshed, he mens not to help yow to do that iustice requerythe. I percewe that thayr ys som men in thes quartters that bothe ye and I have gewen credens to, that they wolld have serwyd iustlly that me thenk ys very slaw with me, as this berer can shew yow, whom I pray yow credit; and cause that som of Tynhed ys offendours in this last mater at Smethop for recet off the Scots, I wolld desyr yow, yf ned be, that som ayd may be had, and that ye will shew your mynd to this berer thayrin. And thus I comyt yow in the kepyng of Allmyghthy God. From Chepches, the xv of Desember, by your lowyng brother in law,

GEORGE HERON.

*To the right worshipfull my lowyng brother
in law sir John Foster, knyght.*

No. CLXXV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

We sende you herewith suche lettres as we have receyved of Arrayn, and the lord James, commendatour of St Androwes, and from Alexander Whitlaw; by the which you shall perceyve, amongst other things,

that he is safely arryved in Scotland with the m. m^l. (20001.) which he lately receyved here; and also, because you shall perceyve what we wrote afore unto the saide lords, when we sent them the saide money by Whitlaw, we sende you herewith the copie of our lettres. Robert Meilville being dispeched thens from Lethington, arryved here on Wenesday night, who taryed not here past iij howers, but was spedely conveyed from hens into Scotland to Whittengeam, as he desyred. From whens he hath written to me, sir J. Croft, of his safe arryvall there, as you shall perceyve by his lettres sent herewith. We have advertisements from dyvers of the gentilmen, which are by lettres from thens, appoynted to repayre hither with the m. m. (2000) men, that they are comyng hitherwards. Whereof we have thought good to put you in mynde; for that we must be fayne, for lacke of victualls here, to lodge them abroad in the countrey when they com; where, also, they can not have mete and drynke uppon credite, but must pay redy money; and, therfore, it were expedyent, that the tresorer here were furnished with money for the payment of their wages; for lacke wherof they shall have cause of complaynt or exclamation, or ells of necessyte be forced to retourn. The xv of December, 1559.

No. CLXXVI.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And, considering the place and importance of your service there, we have thought mete to imparte unto you, not only what we have don, but also what we further meane; and therupon shall ye better understand, bothe how to give us your advise, and how to direct your doings there. We have

geven order for the levieng of foure thousand fotemen, beside the number in that town; wherof two thousand, we trust, be in some redynes, and on the way towards those partes. The other two thousand be now commaunded to be levied with all spede. And bicause you shall understand from whence they come, we sende you herewith a scedule, noting the places; and, for their cotes and conduct money, order is geven to be satisfied in the sheres. As for their armure; because we understande that ther is great want in the sheres, and not conveniently to be had for money, we have determind, and so signified to the sheres, that ther shall come a masse of armure and weapons thither now with all spede, to be distributed for reasonable prices, like as hereafter ye shall understand our pleasure.

Thies numbers, our pleasure is, shalbe layed in such places, part in Barwike, and part upon those frontiers, as shall be sene most convenient unto you. Order is given also for victuell to be sent thither with all spede. As to the use of thies men, ye shall understand, that like as we dyd in the begynning see it nedefull, that, upon this great hostilitie in Scotland, our town and frontier shuld be replenished with men, and well reenforced; so the French proceedings, with so great preparations, move us to devise furder how their great attempts might be made frustrate in the begynning, lest by suffrance they take to greate a roote there to the daunger of our countrey. And, therefore, we have caused conference to be had with the lord of Leddington, to understand what the Scottes can of themselves do herin, and how they might be enhabled therto. Whereupon, he having not full auctoritie to make to certayn partes a full resolution, hath sent ~~into~~ Scotland one who, we thinke, passed by you there; and so we rest in expectation therof. And yet, in the meane tyme, we have appoynted to sende the lord Gray thither, to be our warden there, and to have the charge of these extraordinary bands of fotemen for such service as shall be appoynted to him. And we also meane to provide, that a certayn number of horsemen may be levied to ioynes with the said fote-

men. We have also determined to sende our cosyn of Norfolke* with all spede to be our lieutenaunt generall of all the north, from Trent northward. We do also furthwith sende xiiij ships of warre, well armed, under the charge of William Wynter,† with a number of good captaynes, to conducte a masse of victuall and munition to those partes in diverse other vessells, who shall departe this Saterday at the furdest to the seas. And bycause some other profit may arrise of that iourney, we have ordered that he shall follow the advise of you, and so entre into the Fryth, principally to impeche the entrie of any more succours out of Fraunce, and consequently, if occasion may be well taken, to make any notoriouse defeate upon the Frenche, to enterprise the same as of himself, without any demonstration of publike hostilitie.

And although we trust he shall be upon that cost shortly, we thought mete at this present to require you to consider of it before hande, how he may commodiously take some notorious advantage upon the Frenche; and how he may have some advise given by you when he shall come afore Holy Iland, before he shall entre into the Fryth with our navie; the manner wherof, bicause it shall not be convenient for hym to come on lande, woold otherwise be devised there, as shall seme best to you. We have also caused to be sent a grete quantitie of armure; wherwith ther is one of our arimory specially charged to see the same there savelly delivered. And bicause Benet, the master of our ordinaunce there, shalbe so occupied with the office of our ordinaunce and artillery, that he shall not well attende to our said armure; our pleasure is, that ye shall appoynte some one of our garrison there, being of such skill and trust as therto is requisite, to joyne herin with the said Benet, and to take charge therof; and to deliver suche numbers of the said armure from tyme to tyme, as by our lieutenant at his commyng, or by you in the meane season, shalbe thought mete to be delivered to any captayns or souldiours for redy money, or money to be defalked

* Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, whose tragical history is well known. He was beheaded in 1572.

† Master of the naval stores, and a seaman of bravery and experience.

upon reasonable tyme so as we may be duly aunswered for the same, according to the prices herewith sent in a scedule. And thus, we pray you, consider of thies matters ; and not only direct all your doings and labours there to concurre and further these same, but also to return to us your opinions and advises : which the soner ye do, may be here by our counsell the better considered. And therin we wouold not have you forbear for any doubte of construction therof, for our meaning is, to accepte of suche as we trust all advises in good parte, without prejudice of any for uttering their myndes. Yeven under our signet, at our pallace of Westminster, the vvjth of December, the seconde yere of our reigne.

[*Arms of France and England.*]

*To our trusty and welbeloved sir Raff Sadler
and sir James Crofts, knights, presently at
Barwicke.*

No. CLXXVII.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Ye shall perseve, by the quenes majesties lettres, herewith sent unto yow, of our procedings here. The French preparations be so great, as we se not how they may be withstand when they be at the full, except they be impeched in the begynning. The first meane therein, is, to obteyne the Fryth into our possession for the stay of any gretar succor ; the next is, if the Scotts will playe there part, to enter by land with iiij m. (4000) footemen and ij m. (2000) horsmen, and recover Lethe. Which thyng how it will sound faisible in your eares, I wold gladly knowe ; and herin, I besech yow, impart your opinions, in some sort, unto me ; for I wold thereuppon consider the matter percase other wise than now I doo. It is ment that my lord Gray shuld doo this exploit, and have, beside the footemen, vj c. (600) horsmen, with lances and

pistoletts, and xiiij or xv c. (14 or 1500) light horsmen, and v or vj good brass peeces for battery. This night Wynter is departed to the seas, and wilbe with the shipps to morrow uppon the seas with xiiij strong vessels, such as will make small accompt of all the French navy in Scotland. I am advertised, God send it to prove trew ! that viij en-sequences of the French ar perished uppon the cost of Holland. I shall understand the truthe by to morrow, if the passadge permitt any to come out of Flanders. My lord of Norfolk is almost reddy to come away. God send us good spede. From the court, the xvjth of December, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

[*His own arms.*]

No. CLXXVIII.

NICHOLAS ERRINGTON *to Sir JOHN FORSTER.*

Plesythe yt yowre mastershype to be advertysed, that George Herone, of Chypches, dyd send Edward Charlton, Harye Charlton, of the Larnerborne, and on John Charlton, of Thormyborne, in Tyndall ; the said George Herone sent theys said three prissoners unto Hexham to the qwenys majesties gavel thayr. And further, of theysse prisoners that yewe gave me, the namys of Thomas Mylborne, otherwysse callyd Thome Headman, was not abyll to be carryed to the Newecastell, when the reaste was had, accordyn to your comandement ; for that the said Mylborne was soyr seycke, knowyn to dyvers of the inhabytors of Hexham. Thus yt is chansyd, that the xvth daye of this instaynt, the gaveler, and all the reaste of the prissoners, be what means I cane not tell, nor no other that cane be knowyn of serteyntyte, but that the said thre Charltons and Mylborn, with ij Skotts pledges, and on Hwrste, that was commandyt toward for suerty of John Errynton, is goyn the said nyght, and all the dorrys lefte opyn, savyn the utter dowre, whych is the

newe howsse doyr that Mr Slynggysbie bylldyt, whayr the gaveler laye nyghtlie for the savegayrd of the said prissoners, as I thowght was most swreste. And thws commyttyn all the matter of thear goynge, as farre as I cane gett knowllyge as yette, and as I cane learn forther yowe shall knowe; for I ame bowld to wryt unto your mastershype in thys matter, trustyng that the trwthe shalbe knowyne, and this berar cane declayr. And thus comyttyn your mastershype in the kepyne of the levyne Lord. From Hexham, the xvijth daye of Dyssember, 1559.

Your mastershypes to command,

NICHOLAS ERYNGTON.

No. CLXXIX.

The Larde of CESSFORD to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

Efter my hartle commendations in leffull maner. This sall be to ad-wortishe zour lordship, yat yis last Setterday, at ewin, yair come to Zeitten, of Yngles men to nowmeir of twenty fowr men, and yair crewolle hurt thre or fowr Scottis men, and hes tane ane Inglis man fwrtht of David Mechelsonis hous, quha was delywerit to him be ye weran of the trewx; and als hes tane away furth of the said Davids hows in seyt and uyer guds, quhylk will be ane gret occasyon of mys-rewll, gyf zour L. put nocht remed to syc opyn deids, as I dout nocht bot zour L. wysdom will put justice fordwart as ze sall fynd ye lyke on my part, as knawis God, quha haif zow in keping. At Cesfurd, this Monwedday, ye xvij day of yis instant.

Be zowrs lefulle,

WALTER KER, of Cesfurd.

[Arms.]

*To ye ryght honorabill my lord warden
of the est and myddills marchis of
Ingland for anentis Scotland.*

No. CLXXX.

*Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir J. CROFT to the Lords and others of the
Quene Majesties Privie Counsaile.*

It may please your lordships to understonde, that sir W. Ingleby, tresourer here, having ben long in Yorkeshire abouts the receipt of money for the payment of the wages of the garrisons here, is now returned hither; and, as your lordships shall perceyve by his lettre and declaracion, sent herewith, hathe not so moche money now remayning of his saide receipt as woll pay that was due to the saide garrisons the xxv of Julie last; by 270l. 15s. v.d.; sithens whiche tyme the debt is increased v monethes and more, amounting to xijm. vc. lxxvj. vijs. (12,566l. 7s.) as shall appere also to your lordships by a like declaracion, sent herewith by the saide tresourer. Wherefore, considering that there is so moch due alredy, and nothing left in the treasurers hands towards the payment therof, and also that the charges are lyke to increase daylie, by reason that a greater nombre and crew of men are now repayring hither, we thinke it our dueties to remember your lordships, how mete and necessarye it is that the saide thesaurer be out of hande furnished with a convenyent masse of money wherwith to supplie the saide charges, specyally for that the saide nombres of men, which are coming hither, must, when they com, because there is not suffycient victuall here, be lodged abroad in the countrey, where they can not have mete and drynke uppon credite, but must pay redy money, and therefore must nedes have present payment of their wages, or ells they shall not be able to lyve here. Hereof we have thought it our parts and dueties to advertise your good lordships, and also, that there is not victuall sufficient in this towne to serve the number that is here alredy for ij monethes. So that, oneles it may please your lordships to take order for the present furnytur and supplie both of mo-

ney and victuall to be sent hither, surelie the lacke thereof wolbe a gret hinderaunce to the quenes majesties service here ; wherof, we doubt not, your good lordships woll have such consideracion as apperteyneth. The 19 of December, 1559.

[*The Treasurer's Accompts.*]

The summe to performe the xv^m^{li}
 (£15,000) dewe the xxvth of Julie
 last, ys - - - - - ij^c lxx^{li} xv^s v^c [£270 15 6]
 The debte dewe the said xxvth of Ju-
 lie untill the xj of Decembre, ys xij^m v^c lxxvj^{li} vij^s [£12,566 7 0]

No. CLXXXI.

Mr SADLEIR to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

After my most hertie commendacions. At the making up of this paquet, arryved here the quenes majesties lettres and yours, addressed to sir James Croft and me, declaring her highnes pleasure how we shoulde have proceded to thimpeachment of the French, if they had com to fortifie at Aymouth, as we were here advertised. By the which I do perceyve, that your oppynyons there, and ours here, were not disagreeable ; for if thadvertisement we gave you had ben trew, I thinke, if all men wolde have ben as forwarde here, as I suppose they wolde, we shoulde not have taryed your answer, if any advauntage might have ben taken which in dede must have ben at the begynnyng ; for the longer it had ben forborn, the more daungerous and difficile it wolde have ben to impeche them. I do perceyve by your

saide lettres, that my lord of Norfolk and my lord Grey,* wolbe here shortelye, which hath ben long bruted. So that at the commyng of my lord Grey, I trust I shalbe dispatched of my new office of this wardenrye; whereof I am nothing sorie; trusting you woll have som consideracion there of my charges for the tyme that I have, and shall use the same; wherof I have sondry tymes written to you, and yet can receyve no answer from you. If I be greved with it, you can not blame me; assuring, that if I durst, I wolde be angrie with you; but because it woll not availe me, I must be pacient. And if ye meane to kepe me still in this countrey, ye must have better consideracion of my charges, or ells I shall begger my self in this service; for, I assure you, my horsemete woll eate up the one half of myn enterteynment; all things here be so unreasonably dere: wherefore, sir, I beseche you, have me in remembraunce, for I complayne not without cause. Also, I perceyve by your saide lettres, that my saide lord Gray shall succede therle of Northumberland in the est wardenrie here. Wherein I must nedes say my poure opynyon to you, which is, that I thinké you shall do him wrong, if he have not the name of both wardenries, so as he have a sufficient depute for the myddle marches. Which, nevertheles, I referre to your better consideracions there.

Fynally, sir. If ye mynde there to folow thes matiers here ayenst the Frensh, with such effect, as now it semeth to me ye intende, where in I wolde to God ye had ben more forward in tyme. For God's sake put to your helping hande, that money and victuall maybe sent hither with spede, and trust not overmoche to my lord treasourers faire words in that behalf. The quenes majestie is in debt here at this tyme xij m^l. (12,000l.) and odde money, as you shall perceyve by such declarations as Mr Ingleby, treasurer here, doth sende herewith, who hath not one peny left, as he sayeth, towards the payment thereof; whereof, I assure you, the souldours here do moche complayn; and if

* William lord Grey, of Wilton, an excellent soldier, who had made a gallant, but unsuccessful defence of Guisnes against the French. He was now appointed warden of the middle and eastern marches.

they lacke their wages, they woll serve with the worse will. I can not but put you in remembraunce of thes things, which I doubt not you woll consider accordingly. Thus our Lorde have you in his keping. From Barwick, the xixth of December, 1559, with the rude hande of

Your owne, most assuredly,

R. SADLER.

Arms or crest, a demi-lion, or leopard rampant.

There is passid by here yesterday xj sayles in sight, which we thinke here to be French.

*To the right honorable sir William Cecill,
knight, principall secretarie to the quenes
majestie.*

No. CLXXXII.

*The Erle of ARRAIN and the Larde ST JAMES to Sir RAFF SADLEIR
and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

After hartie commendacions. This is to certefie you, that Robert Malvile cam to us at St Androwes the xvth of this present Decembre. And howe soone we had seen his writings, and hard his credite, we sent one with all possible diligence to my lord duke's grace and the rest of the counsail; whome we have all together desiered to convene and mete at Sterling the 21 of this instant. At whiche tyme we doubt not to satisfie all suche things as the larde of Lethington requyers in his articles, and therafter shall send the same with all possible expedition unto him. The cause that moveth us most at this tyme to write unto you, is the dailie incomyng of the Frenches, which putteth our townes, on the coast side of Fyfe, in greate feare. We are also, by oft advertisements, infourmed, that the Frenches are to take summe other part of the countrey, and forte it. And that they looke shortelie for

summe force to com to their supporte in the tayle of their victuallers. Seyng, therfore, that the quenes majestie is mynded to relieve us of this our present dangier, we thinke it best, that the shippes which shulde kepe the Firth, and are in present readiness, be hasted unto us; whiche shall not onlie be a feare to our enemyes, but also a greate comferte to the poure tounes of the coast above mencioned. Further, we will assure you, that none of the lords, which were before neutral, cometh nowe neare the quene douagier, but rather ar readie, (and so will be founde, as we surelie suppose) to take parte with us, whensoever they shall see your supporte assisting us. The lords of counsail resident at St Androwes, hathe been in Dundee, and there taken suche order with the barons of Angus, Meyrnis, and Strathern, as were taken by them in Cowper for Fife, wherof we were advertised before. We have also directed lettres through oute the countrey by our authoritie, which are dulle obeyed. And wheras variance was amongst soundrie gentilmen, we have putt ordre therin, to their union and contentement. We have, in lyke maner, arrested fyve shippes with wyne, which rest at Dundee, to the furnishing of the armye. And, in lyke maner, we have sent to the northland for inbringyng of victualls, to the furnishing of the shippes and other necessities, by reason there is plentie of victualls in those parts; lyke as we have ells taken order in Fyfe, for readiness of victualls to the shippes: and are presentlie lying on these coasts foranents Lythe, to resist the invasion of the Frenches, which, as we are informed, are to invade, as saide is. Moreover, bicause Robert Malvile, or summe other that we are to send to you, are to com by Carlisle, we desier you to write effectuously to the lord Dacres, to cause them be aunswered of the post, and furthered in all their affaires, as ye knowe the nede of the cause to requyer. Thus farre we thought good to advertise you of our proceedings at this present; and, referring all other things to our next writing, we commit you to God. Of Kingorne, the 20 of this December, 1559.

Your assured freends at power,

JAMES HAMILTON,

JAMES STEWART.

Since the writing of thies presents, we are surelie advertised by the west counsail, that the quene douagier hathe dressed therle of Lenoux* to com home in this countrey, promising him bothe his owne lands, and also therldom of Angus,† whereunto he hath agreed, as we are credeblic infourmed; and therefore prayeth you to take order therin, that he be stopped of his iourney.

No. CLXXXIII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRRAIN and the Lord JAMES.

After our most hertie commendacions unto your good lordships. We have receyved your lettres by this berer; being right glad to understonde by the same, that Alexander Whitlaw so well arryved with your lordships with his last despeche from hens. And because we doubt not but or this tyme your lordships have, by Mr Mailvill from the larde of Lethington, of all things at good length, we shall not nede to trouble your lordships with any long lettre at this tyme; but yet, in the meane season, we have thought good to let you knowe, that the quenes majesties navie is presentlie on the sees, and wolbe in the Fryth with as moche spede as it shall please God to sende a good wynde, there to do such feats as, by your good advises, shalbe thought conveyent; and also to cut of such succours and power as shall com thither out of Fraunce. And also, there is preparacion made here for a good number of men, at the least iiij or v m. (4 or 5000,) to be in a redynes to enter by lande, and to com to your succours when soever you shal-

* Matthew, earl of Lennox, the father of Henry, lord Darnley. He had retired into England, after leaving the faction of the queen-dowager in 1549. She probably meditated recalling him, to set him in opposition to the duke of Hamilton.

† Which he claimed in right of his wife lady Margaret Douglas, only child of George earl of Angus.

be redy to com to the felde; so as, we trust, you shall lack no such help to expell your enemyes out of Scotland, as you can or woll require. Prayeng you to let us understonde your myndes from tyme to tyme, touching thes proceedings, as the case shall require. We sende you herewith a lettre, which we have receyved from the courte, sent, by all lykilehood, from som frend of yours out of France. The 21 of December, 1559.

No. CLXXXIV.

The Lords and others of the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsail, to Sir
RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

After our verie hartie commendacions. Where Willyam Drury, gent. having of late charge there, and now staid here for certaine disorders which requier furer examinacion, hathe declared unto us, that a grete parte of his bande, lefte there under the conduct of his lieutenant, is furnished with suche armour as himself hathe provided; and that the thresourer there is to be answered at the pay of his bande certaine prestes which he hathe receved; for that we are lothe he shuld, by his absence, suffer any detryment in these things: we have thought good to requier, and pray you bothe, to call his lieutenant before you, and to give him in charge to see all suche armure, as that band hathe, be well kept; and that every of them be answerable at all tymes for that he hathe receyved; and also to geve order to the thresourer to defalke upon payment of them, suche emprests, and in suche sorte, as the said Drury is charged withall. The particularites whereof we pray you to give order to the thresourer to signify with speade unto us. Whereof we pray you not to faile. And so fare you hartely well. From Westminster, the xxjth of December, 1559.

Your loving frends,

BACON, C.S. E. ROGERS, W. HOWARD,
 F. CLYNTON, W. NORTH, W. CECILL.

To our loving frends sir Raphe Sadler and
sir James Croftes, knights.

No. CLXXXV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

We have considered the quenes majesties lettres, and also yours of the xvjth of this instant, which we receyved the xxjth of the same. And having well understode her highnes pleasure and determynacion to impeche the French procedings now at the begynnyng, which, as it is depely and well considered there, so in our opynyons by long sufferance might be ouer daungerous and difficile to be don hereafter, we have thought it our dueties, syns it is the quenes majesties pleasure, that we shall be bold to say, our opynyons to that, is there determyned to signifie unto you: First, that her highnes saide determynacion in our opynyons is to be folowed with effect. And touching her majesties navie now on the sees, as we perceyve the same being so furnished, as we trust it is, that it may be able to cutt of such succours as shall com out of France, must nedes be a grete furtheraunce, and the chief helpe and advancement of this service, for as farre as we can lerne, there is not above m.m.m. (3000) Frenchmen in Scotland at this tyme, (which, if there com no more ayde unto them, may the more easely be delt withall.) There passed by here lately xj sailes as we advertised, which, as we understonde, were all Scottish merchants, and no men of warre amongst them. When her majesties sayde navie shall arryve in the Fryth, as with Goddes grace the same shalbe well able to impeche the entree of any more succours out of Fraunce, so we shall devise the best we can uppon such other fesible enterprises as maybe attempted to the defeate or annoyance of the French, wherein we thinke it not amisse to use thadvise of the lords protestants in Scotland, to whom having here at this time, as it chaunced a conyenient messenger, we have presently written for that purpose. And when Mr Wynter shall ar-

ryve on this cost, we shall devise to conferre with him in that behalf, so as God willing nothing shalbe omytted on our parts that may tende to the furtherance of this service, so farre fourth as our poure witts can arreche.

Secondly, touching the nombers of iiij m. (4000) men appoynted to repayre hither for this service, as we iudge the same most necessary, so we thinke it good under correction, that one m. (1000) of the garrison in this towne be added unto them, to make up v. m. (5000,) when they shall enter into Scotland. And also we wishe that money and victuall be provided for the sufficient furnytüre of them, so as they may such a provision with them, both by lande and see, as they shall not nede to trust overmoche to the Scottish victualling, wherein, percase, they may be deceyved. Caryages also must be provided as well for thordenance, whereof in our opynyons must be a larger proporcioun for battrie, then is mencioned in your lettres; as also for victualls, tents, and other necessities, for the better furnytüre of them to contynue and abyde upon the siege of Legh as the case shall require.

Thirdely, Where, as we perceyve, that it is determyned there to have m. m. (2000) horsemen, whereof vj c. (600) to be launces and pistoletts to ioyn with the saide iiij m. (4000) fotemen, as the charges of the same wolbe gret, so we doubt how it shalbe possible to provide for the feding of so many horses in Scotland at this tyme of the yere, which is to be well considered, for when this powr shall enter into Scotland, they must thinke themselves to be in theyr frends countrey where no spoile is to be made, but must take that they can gette for their money whereby to enterteyn the love of the people in such sorte, as they may perceyve us to com for their good, and not for their evill; assuring you that we see not, though percase they shalbe founde of right good will to furnishe our men with things nedeful; that yet they can be able to make provision for so gret a number of horses, whereof we have thought to remember you, referring the same to be considered there by such as understonde the same better then we do.

Fynally, As we doubt not but ye have well considered there of the

tyme, when it shalbe mete to sende this power into Scotland, so we thinke the same must rest moche uppon the determynacioun of the lords protestants for their arredynes to come to the felde, which, in our opinions, wolbe so resolved, that their power and ours might mete at Edinburgh as nere as may be at one instant, for that we thinke they shall not be able to kepe any gretter power long togither, then such such as they shall reteyn in wages, and therfore, in our opinions, it is best to ioyn with them, and to begynne the siege of Legh at their first assemble at Edinburgh, when their hole power is togither; and because they be not able to themselves of kepe any number of men long togither, we see not but that the quenes majestie, besydes the charges of her own armye, must also be at such charge with them, as woll enterteyn at leest m.m.m. (3000) Scottish fotemen, and iij c. (300) horsemen for such tyme as shalbe thought necessarye, so that money wolbe the principall stay and furtheraunce of this matier; and yet, nevertheles, order is to be taken with the saide protestants to bring as gret a power to the felde as they can, besides at their owne charges, in which parte we doubt not, but afore the retourne of the lord of Lethington from thens, ye woll thoroughlie resolve with him as the case shall require.

Post scripta. Where I sir James Croft have many tymes written to knowe the quenes majesties pleasure, touching the augmentacioun of the old egarrisons wages here, graunted upon consideracions in the name of a benevolence, whereof hitherto I have receyved no answer; considering that it is not mete to suffer such a bande to decay, specially at this tyme, and that they can not lyve uppon their olde wages, being but a grote a day, all things being so dere; as in dede they have made earnest sute to be discharged, and to have leave to sell their horses, because they be not able to kepe them with the said wages: we have therfor persumed to contynew the said augmentacion for this pay for advoyding of more inconvenyence, for otherwise the bande in dede wolde have decayed, which coulde not have ben renewed without a moch greater charge. And if it be intended there to contynew

the same, as in dede this towne can not be without such a bande of horsemen, or rather a greater; we see not but the saide benevolence must contynew, and be converted to the name of a certen stipende, for it is not a grote a day that can mayntene a horseman, as we doubt not you can well consider. *

The scedule of the prises of the armour, mencyoned in the quenes majesties saide lettres, is not sent unto us, which is to be remembred in your next dispeche.

The brute is gret in Scotland of the comyng of an army thither out of Englonde to ayde the lords of the congregacion, insomoch, as we be advertised, that the quene dowagier hathe practised with the lord Erskyn, having the charge of the castell of Edynburgh, to receyve her into the castell, in case there com a greater pour agenst her then she can be able to withstonde; which, as we be credyblie infourmed, he hath graunted unto her, so as she com in such sorte as he may be still master of his charge. It is also tolde us, that she sayed, that or the holy dayes ende, she shoulde have such succors out of Fraunce, as shoulde make up the full number of vj m. (6000) French men. As other things shall occurre, we shall advertise you accordingly. The 22 of December, 1559.

No. CLXXXVI.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLIER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

I trust my lord of Norfolk wilbe at Royston to inorrow, and my lord Grey will be long after hym. Our shippes be on the seas, God spede them! William Wynter is appoynted, as he commeth nigh to lerne of you the state of the French navy within the Fryth. And it

* It was probably the deficiency of pay, which led the governor of Berwick into great excesses of robbery and pillage, in which Norfolk complains, they were encouraged by sir James Croft himself. *Haynes*, I. p. 320-1.

is thought good, that ye shuld cause some small vessell to goo to hym with your intelligence, before he come very nigh that towne, lest by tarryeng long for your answer, he be occasioned to hynder his voyage. The French ar much amased at this our sodden going to the seas, and hover now; so as the Marg. du Boeuff* being come to Callise, is returned to Parriss in great hast. The whole costs of France prepare to warre; and, therefore, it is full time that we see to our parts. We now lack intelligence from you, and be utterly ignorant what they doo in Scotland. We be a frayed of the loss of Edinburgh castell. God gyve yow both good night, for I am almost a slepe. At Westminster, hora 12,^a nocte 23 of December, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Arms.

Ye had nede to gyve order for lether to glove a hundred gantletts which are sent thither.

*To sir Raphe Sadler, and sir James Crofts,
knights.*

No. CLXXXVII.

JAMES STEWART of Curdonald † to therle of LENOX.

MY LORD,

Aftre my most hartlye commendams of servaunce, plesit your lordship to be remembens, the last tyme that your lordship's servaund, master Naskit, was in the countrey, I advertised your lordshipp and my

* The Marquis d'Elbreuf had actually embarked for Scotland with a large force; but the transports were scattered by a storm, and either wrecked on the coast of Holland, or driven back to France.

† This gentleman's estate lay in Renfrewshire. Being a reformer, and probably a kinsman of Lenox, he persuades him to return to Scotland, to join the lords of the congregation.

ladys grace your best remedye that I could find, touching your lordships affayres in this country, of the qwylke I had no repons agein; qwylke made belefe, as it shew in deid that your lordship would not proceade na ferther at that tyme. And nowe thoccasion presents, that your lordship may, with your honour, cum to your own, beside money wther gret preydeis, that your lordship cannot mysgef, I thinkis, to fall; besides the grete revenge that ye might have of your innemyes; qwylk tyme presently now geif your lordships contaunts, ye sall never cum to yt agayn, consydering the gret occation that offers of it self. And gief your lordship thinke expedyent and willing to hauf the matters dressed, let me knawe your lordships mynd, other in wryte, or by some speciall servaund, qwhom your lordship geves cret dence to, and I trust in Godd to bring the matter to sick pass, tha- your lordship salbe contented therwith. Referrand the rest to your lordship's wysdom and dyscrecion; for as to my part, I salbe evermore redy to do your lordship the best servyce I cann, that your lordship cann requyre of me. This after my mast humble comendationes to my lady grace; my lord Damelye, I pray Godd, have your lordship and them bath in his keping. At Leyth this zuill day of the xxith day of December, 1559.

Your lordships with his servys,

JAMES STEWART
Of Curdonald.

Endorsed: the copie of advertysements out of Scotland to my lord of Lenoux.—January x°. 1559.

No. CLXXXVIII.

The Lorde Treasurer to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

I comend me hartelie to you. Letting you wete that I have received Mr Treasurers of Barwiks lettre, dated at Barwike, the xixth of Decembre, 1559, and therein ij papers; thone conteyning his receipt with iij^mcciiij^{xx}xj^{lb}vij^sij^d (£3391 : 8 : 3.) to be xvij^mccxlviij^{lb}xvj^sx^d (£18248 : 16 : 10.) which is particlerlie set forth, whereof Mr Abington hath received at his hands, i^miiij^{xx}xj^{lb}xv^sv^d (£1091 : 15 : 5.) and more paid for fortifications, xv^c (£1500.); to merchants of Newcastell cc^{lb} (£200.) to sir Henry Perry ccliij^{lb} (£254.); to the inhabitants of Carlile iij^clxxiiij^{lb}xvj^sx^d (£473 : 16 : 10.); sum iij^miiij^cxxviij^{lb}xvj^sx^d (£2428 : 16 : 10.) totalis of the payments iij^m.cxix^{lb}.xix^s.ij^d. (£3119 : 19 : 3.); and so towards the paie xiiij^m.cccxxix^{lb}.iiij^s.vij^d. (£14329 : 4 : 7.) which bie payments were not knowne of, and that maketh ignorance, which is not well in such cases.

And in another bill appereth the wages unpaid, from the xvth of July, to the xijth daie of Decembre, making v monethes, amounting xij^mv^clxvj^{lb}vij^s (£12566 : 7.) and towards that, Mr Abington saieth there may be taken of the victualling money, over and above the saide sume of iij^m &c. (£3000. &c.) iij^m (£4000.) whereof I have sent you a particler bill, whereby, and by the captens bill the trewth will appere, and that money I thinke good to be rebated also, for clering of the payment for them, the rest will appere that may be the rather paid, which I trust the quene will have done with the advise of my lords.

And now cumeth to you a mass of treasour, which shall remayne with you to serve all nedes, and shalbe encreased for the contynewance of payments, wherein there shalbe much dilligence used, because it is so nedefull. And the substance of provicion for you is provided, and

in shipping and making redy, wherein shalbe as much spede as may be and sent unto you, of the arivall whereof I would be glad to here; for thereof would grow sum quieatness to all parts, and therefore there is and shalbe done as much thereto as may be. Thus fare you hartelie well. Written the xxvjth daie of decembre, 1559.

Your loving frinde,

WINCHESTER.

To our loving frends sir Rauf Sadler, and sir James Crofts, knights, the quenes great officers and counsellours in Barwike. Hast, hast, post hast, to Barwike.—dd. the post, the xxvjth day, before viij of the clock at London. The letter were sent from Waltham by a joultar, the xxvij of Decembre, and they lay at the same, untill Satardaye the xxx daie of the same monethe as I knew of the same; wytnes Alen Boston and John Pople.

No. CLXXXIX.

A Seedule of Money owinge by the Captens under wryten for Victualls delyvered from the xjth of Decembre, 1558, untill the xijth of November, 1559, ut sequitur, viz.

Capten Drury, from the xjth of Decembre, untill the xxij^d of Julye,

vj^cxlj^{li} xvij^s v^d
£641 17 5

Idem a prædicto xxijth die July, usque xij^{um} diem Novembris,

ccciiij^{xx} viij^l
£388 0 0

m^lxxj^x xvij^s v^d
£1029 17 5

Capten Somersett, usque xxij^{um} Julij,

v^cv^{li} xix^s iiij^d
£505 19 4

Idem usque, xij^{um} diem Novembris,

cccxxx^{li} x^s vij
£330 10 7

vij^cxxxvj^{li} ix^s xi^d ob.
£836 9 11

[Carry forward,

£1866 7 4]

	[Brought forward,	£ 1866 7 4]
Mr Marshall, till the xxij of Julye	ccciij ^{xx} xix ^{li} xij ^s ix ^d £399 13 9	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	ccxxiiij ^{li} ij ^s 1 ^d £224 2 1	
		vj ^c xxiiij ^{li} xv ^s x ^d £623 15 10
Capten Vaughan, usque xxx ^{um} diem Ju- lij, - - - - -	iiij ^c iiij ^{xx} vij ^{li} viij ^s ix ^d ob. £487 8 9	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	ccxliij ^{li} vj ^s ix ^d ob. £242 6 9	
		vij ^c xxix ^{li} xv ^s vij ^d £729 15 7
Mr Inglebye, usque xxiiij ^{um} diem Julij,	iiij ^{xx} xv ^{li} vij ^s vij ^d ob. £95 7 7	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	lxxi ^s ij ^d £3 11 2	
		iiij ^{xx} xvij ^{li} xviii ^s ix ^d ob. £98 18 9
Capten Markham, usque xxij ^{um} diem Julij, - - - - -	cccxxvij ^{li} xiiij ^s ii ^d £327 14 3	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	iiij ^{xx} vij ^{li} xvij ^s ij ^d £86 18 2	
		iiij ^c xiiij ^{li} xij ^s v ^d £414 12 5
Capten Sutton, usq. xxij ^{um} diem Julij,	iiij ^c liij ^{li} ij ^s viij ^d ob. £453 3 8	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	cvij ^{li} vj ^s ix ^d £108 6 9	
		v ^c lxj ^{li} x ^s v ^d ob. £561 10 5
Capten Carvell, xxij ^o die Julij, -	cvij ^{li} x ^s viij ^d £108 10 8	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris, -	xxvij ^{li} xiiij ^s vij ^d £28 14 7	
		cxxxvij ^{li} v ^s iij ^d £137 5 3
Capten Reade, usque xxij ^{um} diem Julij,	ciij ^{xx} x ^{li} xij ^s iij ^d £190 13 4d	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	clvij ^{li} ii ^s iij ^d ob. £157 2 4	
		cccxlviij ^{li} xv ^s viiiij ^d ob. £347 15 8
	[Carry forward,	£ 4780 1 3]

	[Brought forward,	£ 4780 1 3]
Mr Flemynge, usque xxiiij ^{um} diem Julij,	clxix ^{li} ix ^s viij ^d ob.	
	£ 169 9 7	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	cxvij ^{li} xij ^s iij ^d	
	£ 117 12 3	
		cciiij ^{xx} vij ^{li} xxij ^d ob.
		£ 287 1 10
Capten Pickman, usque xxiiij ^{um} diem		
Julij, - - - - -	cclv ^{li} xvij ^d	
	£ 255 1 6	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	xxxvij ^{li} vij ^s j ^d ob.	
	£ 36 6 1	
		cciiij ^{xx} xij ^{li} vij ^s vij ^d ob.
		£ 291 7 7
Capten Browne, &c. usque xxiiij ^{um} diem		
Julij, - - - - -	lxx ^{li} x ^s xj ^d ob.	
	£ 59 10 11	
Idem usque xij ^{um} diem Novembris,	lxxvij ^{li} xij ^s iij ^d	
	76 12 3	
		cxxxvij ^{li} iij ^s iij ^d ob.
		£ 136 3 2
Sir Richard Lee, usque xxiiij ^{um} Julij,	lxxvij ^{li} iij ^s viij ^d	
	£ 76 2 8	
Mr Gowre, usque prædictum xxiiij ^{um}		
Julij, - - - - -	xij ^{li} ijs	
	£ 12 2 0	
Capten Claveringe, usque xxiiij ^{um} Julij,	iiij ^{li} xij ^d	
	£ 4 1 0	
Capten Laurence, usque xxiiij ^{um} Julij,	iiij ^{li} iij ^s	
	£ 4 4 0	
Capten Ryvelye, ut supra, - - -	vij ^s viij ^d	
	£ 0 7 8	
Capten Sturley, usque xij ^{um} diem No-		
vembris, - - - - -	xxvij ^{li} vij ^d ob.	
	£ 27 0 7	
Capten Wood, ut supra, - - -	xix ^{li} xv ^s iij ^d	
	£ 19 15 4	
Mr Benet, ut supra, - - -	iiij ^{li} iij ^s xj ^d ob.	
	£ 4 4 11	
		cxlvij ^{li} xvij ^s iij ^d
		£ 147 18 3
And there is also owinge for victualls,		
delyvered to the laborers from the		
iiij th of Marche untill the xx th of		
Auguste; the which is stayd in Mr		
	[Carry forward,	£ 5642 12 1]

[Brought forward, £5642 12 1]

Thresourers hands upon the payment

of their wages, the some of - m. ix^c liij^{li} xiiij^s vj^d
£1952 14 6

And more there is owinge for victualls

to them, delyvered from the said

xxth of August untill the xijth of No-

vember, 1559, - - - ccxxxviij^{li} v^s iiij^d
£237 5 4

mmciiiij^{xx} ix^{li} xix^s x^d
£2189 19 10

And there is also owinge for victuells delyvered to the laborers

the last yere, the sume of - - - - - cciiiij^{xx} xviij^{li} xviiij^l iiij^d
£297 18 4

Sum total.

viiij^m cxxx^{li} x^s iiij^d
£8130 10 3

There is owinge for victualls delyvered to the souldiours, from

the xjth of Decembre, 1558, untill the xxiiijth of Julye, 1559,

the sume of - - - - - iiij^m viij^c iiij^{xx} xj^{li} viij^s iiij^d
£3791 8 4

And for victualls delyvered to the laborers, from the iiijth ofMarche 1558, untill the xxth of August 1559, the which is

stayde in Mr Thresourers hands, - - - - - m^l ix^c liij^{li} xiiij^s vj^d
£1952 14 6

And also, for victuells delyvered to the souldiours and laborers,

from the said xxiiijth of Julye untill the said xijth of Novem-

bre, with also tholde debte of the laborers abovesaid, the sume

of - - - - - mm^l ccciiiij^{xx} vj^{li} viij^s vj^d
£2386 7 6

No. CXC.

KNOX to *Sir* JAMES CROFT.

—— * Hostages are graunted with more glad will, then they were requyered, and other things are so fullie aunswered, that, as I suppose, the counsail above shall have iust occasion to be satisfied in all things, which before ware doubfull. † The comen brute is, that the Frenche have in hand sume hastie and sume greate enterprise, and the rumor lacketh not appearance, for they have shipped mucche ordinance, and are not verie sollicit to reenfort the ruptures and daylie decayes of Lythe. It is feared, that either they shall take Sterling or St Androwes; and, therfore, I was sent by the lords from Sterling in diligence tadvertise, that their earnest desier is, that your shippes with possible expedicion shewe themselves uppon the coasts; tyme was never more fytt, for the most parte of the Frenche shippes, which last departed from Fraunce with men, are driven by storme of wether, towards the northe. It is supposed that the marques del Beuf is in their companye. If any shippes ware to awayte uppon their entrie in the Frithe, they coulde not escape. If either Sterling or St Androwes be taken by the Frenche, after they have possessed any of bothe few dayes, it wooll be harde to remove them; God give you wisdom in all things. There be nowe last arrived 900 men, ‡ the rest, as they brute of 15 enseignes, are looked for. Further in all things you will be instructed by the messenger, which last cam from above, who commeth, as I beleve, by the west border. Thus hartelie committing you to the

* The first part of this letter seems to be wanting.

† The caution of queen Elizabeth and her ministers, and their experience of the fluctuating councils of the Scottish nobles, led them to demand hostages before the march of their auxiliary army into Scotland.

‡ These arrived with Monsieur de Mortigues, and were the only part of the French armament under D' Elbœuf that ever reached Scotland.

protection of the eternall, I cease further to trouble you, from St Andrewes, the 26 of Decembre, 1559.

Yours to commande in godlines,

JOHN KNOX.

No. CXCI.

A Testymonyall from the Town of Edinburgh for the Discharge of a Recognysaunce taken by the Erle of NORTHUMBERLAND of Lorde KYTH and DAVID STRANG, Scottsmen.

We, maister Jhone Prestoun, Williame Ker, Edward Lytill, and Harbart Maxwell, baillies of the burgh of Edinburgh, in the realme of Scotland, to the rycht honourabill erll of Northumberland, or his deputis in the realme of Inglande. Greting for samekill, as yis xxvj day of Decembre, we, with the counsell of the said burgh beand convenit in ye tolbuith of the samyn for decisioun, and setting fordwart of certane commoun effaris, comperit befoir us George Hopper, merchand of our burgh, and gaif in ane supplicatioun, makand mentioun, that he, upoun the sevint day of September last bipast, constitute and ordanit David Strang his lawful factoure and attorney in, and to ane salf conduct granttit to his fattouris and attornayis, be ye quenis grace of Ingland, for ye space of ane zeir nixt efter ye dait thairof, that is ye nynte day of Junii, and of hir magisteis regne ye first zeir, as ye said lettres of factoure purportit. Be virtu of the quhilk conduct and letter ye said David, deputit to ye realme of Inglande schortlie therafter. Quhair in ye moneth of October last, wes or yairby he wes stayit by your L. at ye leist zoure deputis unto ye tyme he fand cautioun, under ye sowme of ane hundreth pund striuiling, yat he, or the said George, betwix ye said moneth of October and Candilmes next, thair efter suld enter in the castell of Tynmouth in Ingland, and thair to bryng with thame, or ony of thame, ane wryting under sufficient record and seill,

that the said David wes constitute faithfull, trew factoure, and attorney to ye said George. And thairfoir desyrand ws to grant to him oure testimoniall under the seill of cause of the said burgh of Edinburgh, testifyand the said Dawid Strang to be his faithfull trew factoure and attorney to ye said salf conduct, and sua constitute upoun ye vij of September foirsaid, he preveand the same be swffitient probatioun. Quhilk desyre we thought reasonabill, and yairfoir thought gude to call befoir ws maister Alexander Sym, advocat, Jhone Sym, Thomas Davidsoun, and Williame Patersoun, notar publict, witnesses, contenit in the said letter of factoure, and being present at the making of the same. Quha be yair bodelie aithis, sworne upoun the haly Ewangelistis, maid faith ye said Dawid Strang, to be ye trew and faithfull factoure and attorney for ye said George, and swa wes constitute in yair presences, upoun the sevint of September foirsaid. Quhairfore we knawand the fedilite of the saides witnesses, and movit be other probatioun led and taikyn in ye said mater, testifyis yis David Strang, to be ye trew factoure and attorney for the saide George Hopper, and sa wes constitute upoun the sevint of September foirsaid. Quhairunto we exhorte zour L. to gif credence, lyke as we haif travelit in trying of ye verite; as ze wald, we did to the leigis of Ingland, quhen sic causses occurrit. In witnes quairof, and that the samyn wes done befoir us, we haif unto yis our certificat, subscrivit with our clerk of court, annexit ye seill of cause of the said burgh of Edinburgh, at ye same ye xxvij day of December, 1559 zeris.

Ita est Willelmus Stewart notarius publicus ac scriba curie Edinburgen., teste meis signo et subscripcione manualibus.

*To the rycht honourabill erll of Northumberland,
or his deputis in Ingland.*

No. CXCH.

THOMAS RANDALL *to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.*

My duetie as appertaynethe unto your honours consydered. Maye yt please your honours tunderstande, that the xxv of this present, I arrived at Glasgowa. My mysfortunes have byne so greate in the yornaye, that I am utterly destitute of anie maner of aide of one of my armes, by reason of a great fluxe of humours that is dessended into the same, and am also greved with a burnynge fever to releve me of my other sorrows. notwithstanding, I trust, shall mayke me better hable then presently I am; or yf God in this service will cawle me to hys mercie, I desyer no better ende. I fynde the lords of the congregation verie wyllinge to satysfie the quenes majesties requestes. All dimaundes made unto them be me, are graunted unto. vj of the hostages shalbe with you, such as yt pleasethe the quene to chuse of xij, immediately upon the retourne of Robert Melven, that is now in hys yornaye towards the court, and berrer of these lettres. He escaped so hardlye the last tyme he came from you, that yt was not thought good he sholde adventure that waye agayne. The newes here are, that the Frenche mayke towards Sterlinge abowt xxv^c (2500,) ether to posses the castle, or to get farther into Fyf. As I was wrytinge herof advertysment was geven to the duke, that thie had cheynged purpose, and intended to kepe their Chrystmas at Glasgowa. My power advice is, that thie be provided for, accordinge to their soddayne warnynge. When yt shall please God to sende me better healthe, I shalbe better hable to do your honours service. For this tyme most humbly I tayke my leave from Glasgowa the xxvijth of Decembre, 1559.

Your honours to commande,

THO. RANDOLPH.

*To the right honorable sir Raf Sadler, knyght,
at Barwicke, with all diligence. Hast, hast,
post hast.*

No. CXCIH.

*Therle of ARRAIN and the Lord JAMES to Sir RAFE SADLER and
Sir JAMES CROFT.*

Trustie freends after our most hartie commendacions. We received your writing the 26 of this instant, dated at Barwick the 21 of the same. As touching Robert Melwin and his desiers, bicause the tyme was shorte, or ever the counsail assembled, we wrayte our opinion what dress shulde be founde thereof with the counsail, and prays to God, we are nothing deceived therin: for it hathe taken effect, even as we wrote our opinion at that tyme, albeit, the storme of wether hes stopped the same as we beleve. At our departing from Sterling, beyng convenit on soddanlie, onlie for the depeche of Robert Melwin. The Franchis liftit their hole power and assistance, and com to Sterling,* as we suppone, to cutt the brigg, and therby to stopp our meting; but your shippes being once in the Frithe, it shall be littell advantage unto them. God willing, it is meynit they shulde propose, langis this cost side of Fyiff for stopp wheroff we are presentlie lying here, and hopes in God to cutt their waye. It wolde be a singler comfort unto the countrey, and furtherance to our affaires, to have the shippes inthe Frithe, and, therefore, most earnestlie desieris the hast of the same. We shall doo guid will, that they shall want no furniture of viveris. We have sent to you the double of the commission of the counsail, as to our most trustie freends, in consideracion of the favor ye bere, and furtherance ye make into the cause, and to serve all eventuris, desyris, that after the inspection of the same, ye dispeche it to Lethington; for Ro-

* The sudden march of the French, was probably intended to surprise the reformed lords, while on their consultation at Stirling. Finding the scheme failed, they followed them into Fife.

bert Melwin is departed with the principall alreadie, streight to the courte. We are assured, that Randall is com safe to the west, and presentlie with my lord duke in Glasco, referring all other things to further advertisement, we bid you most hartelie fare well. At Kingorn the 28 of December, 1559.

By your assured good freends,

JAMES HAMYLTON,

JAMES STEWART.

No. CXCIV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretarie CECILL.

SIR,

After our most hertie commendacions. You shall understonde that the lord of Ormeston hath sent us worde by a servant of his, that the quene douagier of Scotland and the French having gotten intelligence, that the quenes majestie hathe refused to ayde the protestants, oneles they woll delyver the hostages for the performance of such condycons and covenants as her highnes requireth at their hands, do intende so to empeche and disturbe the saide protestants, as they shall have no leysour to devise how to satisfie the quenes majesties expectation in that behalf. And for that purpose, the saide douagier hathe sent xvij^c (1800) French and Scottish ioyned together, which are departed out of Edinburgh towards Sterling, of the which nomber therle Bothwell hath taken uppon to be chiefeteyn and leder. And in their way they intende, as Ormeston hath sent us worde, to take the spoyle of the dukes house, called Kylagh,* which is besydes Lathquo, and from thens to march on to Sterling as is supposed. The protestants, on the other syde, as we here, do make such preparacion as they can to resiste

* Kinneil, a castle belonging to the duke of Chatelherault, near Linlithgow.

their malyce. If the quenes majesties shippes were now on this cost, it wolde moche alter the determinacons of the Frenche, and cause them to retyre in hast to Legh, or ells our saide shippes might have a goodly oportunyte to do some feate in the Frith to theyr annoyance, and also be a grete comforte to the protestants. What shall folowe hereof, we woll advertise as shall come to our knowlege.

Dyvers of the gentilmen appoynted to com hither with men ar ar-ryved here, as sir Fraunces Leke, sir Jervais Clyston, Mr Fayrfax, and George Dakyns; and to morrow we here that sir Thomas Gerarde woll com, and the rest also wolbe here out of hande. Beseching you, sir, to remember, that the thesaurer here is unfurnished of money, and that there isowing here alredy above xijm.¹¹ (£12000) as we have advertised. And now these new bands which we ar constreyned to ley abroad in the countrey for lack of victualls in this towne, wooll loke for wages, for that ells they shall not be able to pay for their mete and drynke, nor yet the countrey able to furnish them therewith without present payment. Eftesones prayeng you to consider it accordinglye. The 28 of Decembre, 1559.

No. CXCV.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir R. SADLEIR.

After my very harty commendations. Before these lettres shall come to your hands, I trust my lord of Norfolk will be in those partes, who, I thynk, will send for you, sir Raff Sadler; his commission is according to the former authorite of the lieutenants, and suerly, I thynk, his grace well as discretly, as honorably, as paynefully execute the same as any that hath gone before him. Wherof I dowt not but ye shall fynd uppon conference with hym assured lyke hoode. One notable quallitee he hath, wherin is great commendation. He will doo nothing almost of any moment in his private causees, but uppon advise,

which property shalbe most convenit for this charge. At this time, here is some contrarietie in opinion amongst counsellors : of all the perrill is sene that will come by the French greatnes in Scotland ; but the remedy thereof is not accorded uppon by all ; some lyke a speedy and an effectuall empeachment, wherof the greatest parte of the counsellors doo allowe. Some others, very few, wold have us more reddy with other thyngs, and to differ hostilite ; and so forthe with lyke diversities. Nevertheles it is agreed to make all thyngs in a reddynes, both by sea and land. The marquis du Boeuff was not yesterday in the morning departed from Callise ; he hath certen tresur there with hym, and certen shippes, but not of any grete strength ; and therefore what he will doo now, knowing of the departure of our shippes thyther ward, I know not. The pacquett her included, cometh from the lord of Ledington. And so I take my leave. From the court the 30 of Decembre, 1559.

Your assured frend,

W. CECILL.

[Arms.]

*To the right worshipfull sir Raphe Sadler and
sir James Crofts, knights.*

CXCVI.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And doo assure you of our good contentacion, and allowance of your service all this tyme paste in that northe parte of our realme ; where we fynde your knowledge and experience so good, as having now sent thither our cousin, the duke of Norfolk, to be our lieutenant, we have specially recommended you unto him, as one whose advice we have moved him to followe in our service. And so we earnestly require you, that ye will at his re-

payre into those parties resorte unto him, and gyve him for our affaires from tyme, suche counsayle as ye shall see mete: wherin, (as ye will knowe,) ye shall do us acceptable service, and funder our sayde cousin in that which he most desyreth, to the honour of us and our realme; who of himself also, hathe made earnest request to have you to remaine there with him; and for your entretaynement for your chargeable service for these two wardenries since the departure of the erle of Northumberland, we have also gyven ordre to our saide cousin, that ye shall be for the same, as meete is, consydered. Yeven under our signet, at our pallace of Westminster, the last daye of Decembre, the second yeere of our raigne.

*To our trusty and wellbeloved sir Raphe
Sadler, knight.*

No. CXCVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

We have presently receyved lettres from therle of Arrayn and the lord James, commendatour of St Andrewes, addressed to us, with a lettre from **Knox**, and also such other lettres as be addressed to you, and the larde of Lethington, which we sende you herewith. And as we wrote to you in our last lettres of the 28 of this instant, that the French were gon from Legh and Edinburgh towards Sterling, so we here by commen brute, and not of any certentie, that they be now arryved at Sterling; and in lyke sorte, we here that the protestants be assemblid with all the power they can make to resiste them; but we can not advertise of these things any certentie, more then that, indede, the French are gone past Lithquo towards Sterling, to what intent me know not. And as we here they have not left past ij or iij enseignes at Legh. We have don what we can to lerne some certentie of these matiers, and as we shall here, so we woll advertise with diligence. In the meane sea-

son, we have wrytten to the saide erle of Arrayn, and the lord James; and for their better comfort, have advertised them, that our shippes have ben on the seas thes x or xij dayes, and wolbe in the Fryth assone as wynde and wether woll serve. And also that the Marques Dalboeuf is yet in France. The last of December, 1559.

No. CXCVIII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRRAIN and the Lord JAMES.

We have receyved your lordships lettres addressed to us, and also your others, addressed to sir W. Cecill, and the lord of Lethington, which we have fourthwith depeched to the courte. Our shippes have been on the seas theis x or xij dayes, and assone as wynde and wether woll serve, woll arryve in the Frith. The marques dal Boeuf is yet in Fraunce, who being at Calais redy to take the seas, hering of the so-dayn setting fourth of our shippes to the see, retourned to Parys, and, as we thynke, woll make no haste towards Scotland, oneles he see that he may passe in safetie. We here that the Frensh have lefte Edinburgh and Legh, and ar departed towards you to Sterling; for what purpose we know not. Trusting that you woll so provyde for them, as they shall have ill successe in their iourney; whereof we wolde be glad to here from you. And as touching that which ye wryte of therle of Lenoux, ye shall not nede to feare it, for we shall kepe him well ynough out of Scotland. Also the duke of Norfolk, and my lord Graye, be on the waye hitherwards, and will be here within this v or vj days, with a good power to take your parte. The last of December, 1559.

No. CXCIX.

*The Douagier of Scotland to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir
JAMES CROFT.*

Efter oure hertlie commendations. We wrait laitlie to our derest sister and allye, the quene zour soverane, in favours of certane merchands of Edinburgh, quha uponn the xxix of October last, wes reft and spulzeit of thair schip and guidis, be ane Thomas Clavering and utheris, inhabitantis of the townis of Schiremyrstonn, Thesyk, and Gosyk, of the quhilk we traist ze have hard of befoir, or at the leist, the beraris will inform you. Quhairupponn we have resavit hir answer, declarand that hir grace hes gevin in charge to the lord admarall of that realme, to tak sic directioun as to the caus of reason and equite dois belang. Nottheles we have sensyne understand, that the said admarall hes ap-
poyntit zow as commissionaris for him, to try the mater, and do ius-
tice thairin; quhilk hes movit ws to write this present unto zou, in fa-
vouris of the saidis merchandis, praying you effectuislie, that for in-
creissing of peax and anytie betwix thir realms: ze will caus resti-
tutioun be maid to the beraris of the guidis spulzeit by the said Thomas
Clavering and his complices, furth of the said schip, conforme to the
treateis of peax, and according to the mynd of our said deirest sister.
As ze will do us veiray acceptable pleasure in that behalf. Thus we
commit zou to the protection of Almichtie God. At Edinburgh the
last day of December, 1559.

La bien vostre,

MARIE R.

[Arms of Scotland, and probably of the
Guisse family.]

*To schir Rauf Sadlair and schir James
Croftes, knyghtis.*

No. CC.

The Douagier of Scotland to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

Efter our hertlie commendationis. This is to advertiss you, that in the schip namyt, the bonaventure intromettit with, be Thómas Clavering and his complices, oure weilbelovit William Ker, elder burges of Edinburgh, berair hereof, had divers coistlie waires, extending to ane gude sowme of money. And for recovery thair of, he hoiping to have gretar favour at zour hand, for oure request, hes desyrit oure lettres of commendatioun unto zou, quhilk we wald nocht refuiss, knowing him to be trew subiect of this realme, that laubouris mekle to wyn his leving be his honest industrie. Praying zou to furthre him to his awin guidis safer, as ze may of equite and reason, the rather for oure saik; and in doying thair of, ze will obliss ws to gratefy you with the like pleasure accordinglie. Thus fair ze weale. At Edinburgh the last day of December, 1559.

La bien vostre,

MARIE R.

*Arms of Scotland, and probably of the
Guise family.*

*To schir Rauf Sadliar, wardane of the eist
and middle mercheis of England, foranent
Scotland.*

No. CCI.

*The copie of THOMAS BARNABIES Lettre to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and
Sir JAMES CROFT.*

RIGHT HONORABLE, &c.

Since my arrivall here, untill this present, my greves have been suche, that I have founde myselfe unhable to any maner of good service, by reason wherof you have been the slacklier advertised of the proceedings here. It maye please you to knowe, that the 24 of this moneth, there departed oute of Lythe towards Sterling, 13 enseignes of French. Whither they intended to take the lords of the congregacion there, or by sune other meanes to possesse the castell, and fortifie the towne; or otherwise to go into Fife, to spoyle the countrey, and possesse suche victualls, as the lords had in store, and so pas over the water agayne to Lythe, it is uncertain, neither can it be knowen, either by any espiall the lords have, or of any prisoners that have been taken scatering by the waye, betwixt Lithco and Sterling; sune suspect that their purpose is, to com to Glasco, where presentlie the dukes grace is, and provision according made for them, with diligent watche, and espiall where they becom, and what they doo. Monsieur Dosell, was himselfe uppon the waye as farre as Lithco, and sodenlie sent for backe again to Edinburgh, the certain cause therof is not yet knowen. Sune thinke it be uppon the arrival of mo Frenchmen at Lythe; sune take it to be uppon the sight of the Englishe shippes in the Frithe; other take it to be for the littell hope he hathe to take the castell of Sterling, for the lorde Erskin hathe saide, that whensoever the French give any attempte to the castell of Sterling, he will sute (shoot) at the quene in Holie roode howse. What I shall write to you for certaintie herin, I knowe not, more then that there are presentlie in Sterling v enseignes, of the whiche, Charlebois hathe the charge, in

Lythco viij, and the rest to the nombre of iiijm (4000) in Lythe and Edenbrough, except there be any greater nombre arrived within v dayes. The erle of Arrain, and the lord James, remayne at Dumfermeling, Burntisland, and places there aboute in Fyfe, to holde the countrey in readines, that if the French arrive there, they maye withstand them with all force they are able to make. The lords here, uppon suche advertisement as they have received from England, determen to put themselves in a readines, with all the force that they are able, against the xth of Januarie, intending to mete with the force of England, uppon viij dayes warning from you, at Colbornes pathe, * or any other place that shalbe thought by you more convenient. Touching the cannons and other artillerie, they thinke it best, that they were landed at Aberladie, which is muche nearer unto the place where the use of them shall be, then to be drawn from Barwicke, to the place where they shall stande in neade of them. Notwithstanding, they doo not mistrust either lacke of catall or victualls, or any thing ells, that shalbe necessarie to the furniture therof, or for the provisioun of the armye, when they arrive. Touching the hostages, wherin the greatest doubte was made, there are 12 graunted, of the whiche 6 are to be chosen for this present, and to be brought to Barwick, before the Englisshe men entre, and vj to be sent by exchange hereafter. Their provisioun here, is made for 30 dayes, which being expired, the lords intend to remayne with their owne freends and servaunts, 1000 footemen, and 200 intertained souldiers, as long as the Englishe campe remayneth in these parts. Touching the inhabitants of the borders, as the Hewmes, Ferniherst, Sesford, and suche, your wisdom knoweth what is best to be doon; and this berer is sent from the dukes grace, of purpose to knowe your advises, and so to travail with them accordingly. Touching the lord Maxwell, he can best reaporte, in what readines he is, and how well he favoreth this cause; I am also myselfe able to testefie the same. He conveied me halfe the waye from his howse to this towne, and this bearer, a kynnesman of the dukes the rest; unto whose reaporte of those things

* Eight miles from Berwick, on the main road to Edinburgh.

that are present, maye it please your honours to give credit. His desier is, to have your favours to buye sune handsom gelding to doo service upon at this tyme, wherin also I wolde be a suter to your honors, to crave your lefull favors. Thus most humblie I take my leave. Written at Glasco, the last of December, 1559.

Your honors alwayes to commaunde,

THO. BARNABYE.

No. CCII.

*Therle of ARRAIN and the Lord JAMES to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and
Sir JAMES CROFT.*

We are surelie informed from the lorde Hume,* desiers to be requyered aswell of us as you to ioyn himsele to us, promising to doo the same; we desier you, therefore, that as we have alreadie, so you wolde desier him to the same by your earnest writing. The Franches are yet presentlie in Sterling, so that there is neither suretie nor leisure of preparations, so long as your shippes are not arrived, which wolde put rest to all. Therefore, above all desiers, their dispeche towards us, and so fare you well in the Lorde Jesus. At St Androwes, the 4 of this instant, (January,) in hast yours assured in God.

Therle of ARRAIN,
Lorde JAMES.

* Probably Alexander, fifth Lord Home.

No. CCIII.

*Sir Rafe Sadlier and sir James Croft, to the Douagier of
Scotland.*

Please it your grace to understand, that we have receyved your graces severall lettres to us, addressed in the favour of William Ker, and other merchaunts of Edinburgh, which of late had their ship and goods lost and perished on this coast, by reason of tempest and violence of wether, wherein, if it lay in our power, we wolde satisfie and accomplish your graces pleasure and request with all good will and diligence. But foreasmuch as the onelie helpe of that matier restith in thands of the lorde admirall of Englande,* with whose office we can not intermytte, therfore it behoveth that one of the saide merchaunts, or som sufficient man for them, do repayre to the saide lorde admyrall to make parsute for redresse and restitution of their saide goods, by the order and course of the lawes of this realme, wherein for our parts we shalbe glad to further them to the best of our powers, to have such good expedicion as the equite and iustice of their cause shall require. And so not onelie in this, but in all other things wherein we may do your grace any service or pleasure, we rest humblie at your graces commandement, as knoweth Almightye God, whom we most humblie besече, to restore your grace to perfite helth, and to preserve the same in long lif to his divine will and pleasure. The 6 of January, 1559.

* Lord Clinton.

No. CCIV.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECILL.

Yesternight we receyved lettres from therle of Arrayn, and the lord James, commendatour of St Andrewes, with also a doulbe of certen articles addressed to Lethington, which as it semeth to us, ar alredy sent unto you by Robert Mailville, who passed by Carlisle, and thes were sent this way by see, because they wolde be sure that one of them shoulde com safely to you. The messenger that brought the saide lettres hither, hathe ben, as he sayeth, thes viij dayes on the see, and could not arryve on land till yesternight, which he toke at Holy Islande with much difficulte and daunger. And also at the same tyme, we receyved other lettres from Randall, which were brought unto us by the west parts of Scotland from Glasco, by a gentilman called Hamylton, a kynnesman of the dukes being sent by the saide duke, to practise with the gentilmen of the Marshe and Tevidale to wyn and allure them to his partie, wherein he is in hope, as he sayeth, to have good successe, specially for the gentilmen of Tevidale, which, for the most part, ar the duks frends, as he sayeth.

We sende you herewith all the saide lettres and articles, with also a lettre sent from Knox to Mr Rayleton of a fresher date than the others; by the which, as we can gather no certentie of the French determynacons, so nevertheles, we suppose, that they having intelligence of the daylie repayre hither of men of warre, of the comyng of the duks grace of Norfolk, who is now at Newcastell, and also of the lord Grey and others; and therefore fearing our invasion and entrie into Scotland to ioynes with the protestants, have determyned to abandon Legh, which they knowe is not tenable, and so adventure, either to seke bataile with the protestants, whose power they know is not grete, and so distresse them if they can, orrells to plante themselfs at Sterling

or St Andrewes, where they may be further of from the daungyer of thinglish power, whereby if they be able to contynew and abyde where they now are, or to take St Andrewes and fortifie it, maugre the protestants, must neds, in our opynyons, folowe a grete alteracion of your purposes to sende any power by lande, for in that case, we thinke that such ayde as ye shall thinke mete there to be given to the protestants must neds be by the see, which we referre to your better considerations.

We here nothing as yet of Mr Wynter, ne of the quenes majesties shippes, which if they were now in the Frith, wolde be some terrour to the enemye, and a gret comfort to our friends. And if they be so well manned, that they may be able when they com into the Frith, to set som convenyent nombre on lande to ioyne with the protestants, to annoy the French as the case shall require, in our opynyons, they shoulde so be able to do great service. And if it shall be thought expedyent to you there, iiij or v^c (4 or 500) harkebusiers of this garrison here may be put into the quenes majesties shippes for that purpose; wherein it may please you to advertise her highnes pleasure.

We understande that iij^c (300) French men arr newly arryved at Legh, and it is bruted there, that the marquis du Boeuff is on the sees, and wolbe there very shortelye. God sende our shippes to meet with him, for if he maye be impeched, it wool be a greate furtherance and advauncement of this service.

We wolde also be glad to knowe the quenes majesties pleasure, in case the protestants shall call uppon us for any further ayde of money, whether we shall satisfie their request, or what answer we shall make unto them in that behalf, whereof we pray you to advertise us in your next dispech letter.

The duke of Norfolk hath sent for me, sir Rauf Sadler, to repayre to him at Newcastle; and therfore I intende to go thitherwards to morrow, God willing, who have you in his keping. The vjth of Januarie, 1559.

No. CCV.

KNOX'S *Letter to Mr RAILTON.*

Your lettres long looked for receaved I in Edinburgh this 23^d of October. It is most assured that such a jewel (the great seal) as your other writings due specifie, is laitle cumed to our realme, but it is keapt mervalus secreat, and the rather becaus these cold blastes of winter be able to cause the beauty of suche Maij flouers faid. Thus much my eis saw and my handes touched. A trym staff for the quen then regent, sent from the persons whom befor ye did specifie, in which war all things which ye express gorguislie ingraived on silver and dowble gilt. This staff was send in the moneht of Maij, in the sam schip in which I cam to Scotland, and was schawen unto me in great secreacye. The nomber and names of my neady brethren I did signifye to such as be in your cumpany, and unto the man above. [Secretary Cecil, I suppose.] The nomber is now augmented, and thare povertie also in such sorte, that yf relief be not provided spedely, I fear that mo then I murn when we may not so weall amend it. What wold suffice every in particular, I cannot weall assure you; but such I know thare necessitie to be, that som that daly fed forty and mo in houshold, is not now able to fead tuo. God comfort thame, for thare battall is strong. The alteration that be hear is this: the quen regent, with publick consent of the lords and barrons assembled, is deprived of all authoritie and regiment amongs us. She, her Frenchmen and assistans ar by open proclamation declared and denounced ennemies and traiters to this common-wealht, for that being thrisce required and charged to desist from fortification Leyth, sche and thei do obstinatlie proceed in thare wicked enterprise. This was don this Monnday before noun. Thare shalbe appointed to occupye the authoritie a great counsall; the presedent and cheaf head wharof shalbe my lord Duck. The authoritie

of the Frenche king and quen is yet receaved, and wilbe in wound till thei deny our most just requeastes, which ye shall, God willing, schortlie hereafter onderstand, together with our hole proceading from the begyneing of this matter, which we ar to sett furth in maner of historie. The battell is begun scharpe yneuht, God geve the issew to his glory and our comfort. Sche hath yit small advantaig; for the death of tu of our soldiours, and for the hurting of thre gentilmen, sche hath lost two capitains, and hath sor wounded many of her cheaf soldiours, to the number of twenty upon one day. Thei brag, and the quen especially, that ye will leave us in the myddest of this trouble; and this sche hath of her last post which cam by you. My battell to this day hath bien verrey bitter, but yf ye frustrat my expectation, and the promisses that I have made in your name, I regard not how few my dolorus days shalbe. What God hath wrought by me in this mater, I will not now recyte: but this I may say, that such offerrs ar refused, that mo do judge us fooles than do praise our constancye. We ar determyned to assay the utermost; but first we must have 3000 mo soldiours. For yf we assault and be repulsed, then shall our interprise be in greart hasard: and our commons ar not able to abyd togetther. Geve advertisment therfor to such as favour us, that without delay our support be send asweal by money as by men. Yf your eis be single, ye may not lett to succour our present necessitie, whatsoever daunger appear tharof to ensew. I must farther requyr you to be a suyttar to all such as ye know to be unfeaned favorars, and espetiallie to our brethren of London, to have a respect to our necessitie. The Frenche schippes keap the walters heir, which is to us a great noyance, and unto thame a great releaf. Provision wold be had by tymes, which we cannot watch, be reasson that all our schippes ar absent, and, as we fear, stayed, so many as be in Fraunce. Watch the advertisment as ye think good, for I cannot write to any, especiall for lack of opportunitie; for in twenty four hours I have not four free to natural rest, and easce of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr George, That I have nead of a good and an as-

sured horse, for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promissed till any that shall kyll me ; and yet wold I hasard to cum unto you, yf I war assured that I myght be permitted to open my mouth to call agene to Christ Jesus those unthankefull children, who allate have appeared uterlie to have forgotten his loving mercies which somtymes I supposed thei had embrased. And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to truble you, being trubled myself in body and in spirit for the troubles that be present and appear to grow. God geve end to his glory and to our comfort. This 23d of October 1559, at mydnicht.

Many things I have to writ, which now tym suffereth not ; but after, yf ye mak haste with this messinger, ye shall undirstand more

R ryt I write with sleaping eis.

Advertiss me yf all things cum to your hands closs.

No. CCVI.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to THO. RANDALL.

Your lettres dated at Glasco, the last of December, we receyved the vth of this instant ; and as we understond by the same amongst other things, that the French ar arryved at Sterling ; so we suppose, that the brute of our invasion hathe caused to habandon Legh, and to seke som other place to plant them selfs in, where they maybe further out of our daungier, wherfore it shalbe good for the lords of Scotland to loke to betymes ; and we thinke, that forasmoeche as they may be stronger in the felde of horsemen, then the French can be, they may therfore easely cut of their victualls from them in such sorte, as they shall not be able to abyde at Sterling or therabouts, but be enforced to retire agayn to Legh for lacke of victuall, not doubting but the saide lords woll attempt all such good waies and meanes as they cann to impeche and anoye their enemyes of their good successe, wherein we wolde be glad to here. Our shippes be not yet arryved on this cost, whereof

we marvaile, for they have ben on the sees thes xiiij or xv dayes, and howerly we herken for their arryval in the Fryth, wherin we be sure all thexpedicion wolbe used, that shall please God to suffere, in whose hands onely it is to sende good wynde and wether for that purpose. The duke of Norfolk is arryved at Newcastell, and the lord Graye wolbe here shortely. And as we understonde the marques du Boeuf was at Calais, the xxix of December, and was in doubt to take the sees, because he understode that our shippes were departed hitherwards, trusting that if he folow, he wolbe defeated of his purpose. And so praying you to be diligent in advertisements, as you may from tyme to tyme, we bid you well to fare, &c. The 7th of Januarie, 1559.

No. CCVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRAIN and the Lorde JAMES.

After our most hertie commendacions unto your good lordships. We receyved your lettres the vth of this instant, dated at Kingorn, the xxviiij of Decembre, with also the commission and instructions directed to the lord of Lethington, which we have depeched unto him to the courte with all diligence; and also we understonde for certeyn, that Mr Robert Maileville arryved in safetie at Carlisle the last of Decembre, and as we suppose, is at the courte or this tyme. We be right sorie to understonde, that the French do so molest and impeche your lordships by their sodayn arryvall at Sterling. Trusting that God of his goodnes woll so assiste you in your iust cause, as their malice shall not be able to prevaile agenst you. And as we thinke your lordships being stronger in the felde, then they be of horsemen, may right well cut of their victualls from them in such sorte, as they can not be able to contynue or abide long in Sterling or therabouts, but must be forced to retire agayn to Legh for lack of victuall. Not doubting but your

lordships wollomytte no good meane or opportunitie that may tende to their impechement and annoyance, and most glad wol we be to here of your good successe agaynst them. We marvaile moche that our shippes be not yet arryved on this cost, assuring you that they have ben on the sees thes xiiij or xv dayes, and every houre we herken for their arryvall in the Firth, where we trust they wolbe very sone, and doubt ye not but we shall do as moch as lieth in us to haste them thither with all the expedition that may be.

The duke of Norfolk is arryved at Newcastle, who thought that our shippes had ben arryved on this cost before his comyng thither. The lord Gray also wolbe here shortely. And as we understonde the marques du Boeuf was at Calais the xxix of December, and was in doubt to take the sees because he understode that our shippes were departed towards the Frith, trusting that if you followe, he shalbe defeated of his purpose. And thus wishing unto your lordships victorie over your enemyes, and as good successe in your iust and godly cause, as your noble herts desyreth, we commytte you to the protection of the living God. The vij of Januarie, 1559.

Post scripta. We sende you a packet herewith, which came from the lord of Lethington.

No. CCVIII.

An Abstract of therle of ARRAINES and the Lorde JAMES Lettre to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

At Cowpar, in Fife, 8 Januar, 1559.

—— 10 or 12 dayes continualie impeched, and traveled by the Frenches, constrayned to retyre to St Androwes.

Thadversaries folowed, and are arrived at Kyngcorn and Kirkcaldie.

The lords assemble towards them to Cowper, and there remayn with the footemen, the horsemen sent to Kingcorne, and thinhabitants there

provoked by a skirmishe melled with thadversarie afore the full arrivall of the horses.

Lord of Sunderland, directed to the lords from therle of Huntley with assurance of his good mynde, and assistance to the common action, shott in the left arme.

The protestants repulsed with equal slaughter.

Thenemys occupie Kingcorn, Kircaldie, and Desert.

Either to ieopard bataile, or to abandon Fife.

Request for relief.

JAMES HAMILTON.

JAMES STEWART.

No. CCIX.

Be it knowen to all men to whome thies presents shall com, that whereas William, lorde Kythe, and David Strang, Scottismen, by their writing obligatorie, bering date at Warkworth, the viijth of November, 1559, were bounde and obliged, ioyntlie and severallie, to the right honorable lorde Thomas, erle of Northumberland, then lord warden of thest and middle marches of England for anempst Scotland, in the summe of one hundreth pounds, that George Hopper, Scottisman, or the saide David Strang, shulde personallie appeare, and entre within the quenes majesties castell of Tynemowth, on this side, or before the feast of the purification of our Ladie, called Candelmas daye, next following the date above writen ; and there bring with them, or either of them, sufficient writing under auctentique recorde, testefyeng, that the said David Strang was made true and lawfull factor and attourney for the said George Hopper, in and to a safeconduit, graunted to him, his factors and attorneys, by the quenes majestie, for the space of one yere next after the date therof, which was the ixth of June, the first

yere of her highnes reigne, I sir Rafe Sadler, knight, nowe warden of the est and middle marches of England foranempst Scotland, beyng therunto speciallie desiered by the saide George Hopper, by this my writing do testefie, that the abovenamed George Hopper, not onlie according to his saide band, entred into the castell of Tynemouthe the vjth of this present, but also brought with him a good and sufficient testimonie in writing, which he exhibited to me, the saide sir Rafe, under the seale of causes* of the towne of Edingburgh, bering date the 27 of December, 1559, that the saide David Strang was trew, lawfull, and undoubted factor and attorney for the saide George Hopper; and so was by the saide George constitute and made bothe by his writing and before good witnesses, the 7 of September last: Wherefore, I the saide Rafe Sadleir signifie herby to all suche as shall hereafter chaunce to trouble, molest, or vex the saide lorde Kythe, or David Strang, Scottismen, for the purpose aforsaide, that their saide band of an hundreth pounce is to be taken as voyde and of none effect; and that the premisses be trew, I have subscribed my name to thies presents, and therunto putts my seale, the xi daye of Januarie, 1569.

No. CCX.

The Larde of LETHINGTON to Sir RAPE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Efter my maist harty commendationis. I have, by divers zour lettres, communicated onto me by Mr Secretary, weill onderstand zour earnest good will and greate lawbors to the furtherance off the cause I have in hand, quharby my sute hes nocht bene a little advansit. If I shold thank zow, it wer to bare a recompense. Seing the uttermost I am abill to do is nocht sufficient to contervale the least part off zour

* The words "of causes," are apparently cancelled in the original.

frendship. Ze have enterit my haill nation in obligation onto zow ; and I hope it shall prove at lenth ze have also weill deservit off zour awin contrey. I loke for the quenes majesties finall answer, and my depesche to morrow ; quhilk obtenit, I will make spede towardes zow. In the mene tyme, I pray zow, by sum meanes, comfort my lords, that they may paciently beare theyr present estate, loking for deliverance schortly. Ze will onderstand more by Mr Secretaryis wryting nor I my self am zit prevey to, although I be in gude hope. Theyrfore, leaving to trouble zow forthar, I commit zow to the protection off God. From London, the xi day off Januar, 1559.

Zours at commandement,

W. MAITLAND.

*To the rycht worshipfull sir Rauf Sadlair
and sir James Croftis, knyghts, OR TO
ETHER OF THEM.**

No. CCXI.

An Abstract of Mr RANDALL's Lettre sent to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

The receipt of your lettres of the vth of Ja. and howe the same shulde have been aunswered afore this tyme, if he myght have been assured that his lettres might have com to your hands.

He wolde have writen presentlie more at large, but that he doubted the dangier that myght fall to those whiche shulde carie the same.

ix^o Januarie, was brought to Glasco La Marque, who greatelie desired to speake with the dukes grace.

The duke hard him what he wolde saye. Theeffect wherof was, that he was a simple messenger, to see and reaporte at his retourne in what estate he founde the quene douagier ; who was reported in Fraunce either to be deade, or verie near thend of her lief.

* The words, " or to ether of them," have been added by Cecil.

He denied that he had any credite.

The French kyng was sory that he had such occasion to deale with Scotland as he intended.

La Marque commytted to straight custodie by the duke, and lyke to be ill handeled, oneles he woll disclose his secret credence.

It is thought that the protestants wolbe redy by the day appoynted, and desyre the lyke arredynes here.

Martyquesser's arryval at Glasco the xij of Januar. vij or viij hangyd by the Frenche.*——The 12 of Januar, 1559.

No. CCXII.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to the Lord of CESFURT.

After my right hertie commendations to your lordship. Understanding by my deputs being at Ryddenborn, the last day of trete, that they coulde not have such good redresse of robberies and spoiles committed in Englonde by the lieges of that realme as to iustice aperteyneth; I have thought good to advertise you of the same. And forasmoche as I and my deputs, for our parts, have endeavoured our selffs, at all metings, to make such redresse of all attemptats commytted by Englishmen in Scotland, as none of yours hathe any just cause of complaynt. My trust is, therefore, that you woll let me have the counterpane at your hande, orells you shall give to gret courage to all offendours, whereby may ensue som inconvenyence. And whereas my frende, Robert Lauson, hath had certen oxen stollen from him at Skrymerstoun, and the theves well knowen which stole the same, as I am infourmed; I shall, therefore, pray your lordship to putte your helping hande, that the saide Lawson may have redresse for the same according to justice. And I shalbe glad to requite your gentilnes to

* Knox mentions their hanging a French boy, and another person, on the steeple of Kinghorn.

be shewed therein, when lyke occasion shalbe mynistered on your parte. The 15 of Januar, 1559.

No. CCXIII.

*Therle of ARRAIN and the Lord JAMES to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.**

This shall be to certefie you, that the Franches lyeth still in Brunt Iland. Our horsemen, the 12th of this instant, tooke and slew fiftie or lx of them. The same daye a shipp of warre of ours tooke 2 shippes, new arrived, but the coronell, with 30 others, escaped by bote; 50 were taken in the shippes; wherin, we suppose, their is summe munition. Our commons were wried, and forced to leve us; wherby we are in no small stresse for the present, and the hole multitude not lyt-tell discouraged, through the long tarie of your shippes, but hopes in God all shall go well, and the rather if your shippes were hasted; wherof there is suche nede, as we can not write presentlie. We beyng of purpose to write to the courte, or let by the troubles present. Referring our present estate to the narration of the berer, to whome, in that parte, give credit; and so fare you well. From the Wymes, the 15 of this instant.

Therle of ARRAIN,
And JAMES STEWART.

* Deciphered.

No. CCXIV.

*Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRAN and
the Lorde JAMES.*

We have receyved your lordeshippes lettres of the viijth of this instant, which we have sent to the courte; and sory we be to understonde by the same, the grete comber, travaile, and expences, which the French men put you unto; and that our ayde and succours is not so redy at your hande as we desire. Prayeng your lordships, nevertheless, to be of good comforte, and take good courage unto you; for surely we loke every howr to see our shippes on this cost; and, with asmoch spede as wynde and wether woll serve, they shall, God willing, arryve in the Frith. And in the begynning of the next moneth, we shall have a good power in a redynes here, both of horsemen and fote-men, to enter by lande to your ayde, in such sorte as you shall best devise; but, considering that the French men have habandoned Legh, and, as we understonde, do intende to plante themselffs, and to fortifie in some place in Fyfe, whereby the case is somewhat altered. We, therefore, pray your lordships, with all spede, to advertise us of your opynyons and iudgements, how we may best ayde you, to thintente we may worke the better by your advise; and, in the meane season, if some convenyent porcion of money may stonde you in any stede, albeit we have litle or nothing of the quenes majesties treasure here, yet we shall of our owne make shifte to send you iiij or v m^l. (4 or 5000) crownes till more shall arryve here, if your lordships woll devise and fynde the meanes how the same maybe safely conveyed unto you.

Fynally, We pray your lordships to beware how ye hazarde any bataile, except you fynde yourselffs a partie, and see good aparence of som advantage; which, we trust, you woll not pretermitte.

At the writing herof, we understonde, that the lord of Lethington was at the poynte of his dispeche from the courte, who, we trust, will be with you shortelie, and satisfie your lordships in all things according to your owne expectacions. And so we beseche Almightye God to graunte you victorie over your enemyes, &c. The 17 of Januarie, 1559.

CCXV.

Therle of ARRAIN and the Lorde JAMES to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

This shall be to certefie you, that beyng upon the entreprise, we did lett you knowe by the last berer, the enemyes marched forwards, which brake our purpose; and albeit the enemyes, for that tyme, retyred to their campe in Kingorn, as we to ours in Dysert, yet can we fynde no oportunitie to our saide enterprise at this present. As we wrote of before, therle of Huntley send in more of commission to us, his cousen, therle of Sutherland, to offer unto us adiunction in our common action in his name, and all his assistance;* and, at the first skirmishe, hazarding himselfe to farre, was shott in the left arme, and hurte verie evill; for which cause he is departed home, and shall cause therle of Huntley parfourme his promesse. We are assured by the ministers of Fraunce, that the hole congregacions are secretlie resolved to take the feelds uppon a daye, alreadie appoynted in all parts, with assistance of a prince of the courte, and of the bloode royall. The daye is within 3 or 4 weeks at the furdest. Your lang tarie hathe putt all the commons, and soundrie barons, in despair of your ayde. If your shippes be not hasted, or, fayling therof, you cause not your land oste make a meanyng forwards towards us, to drawe the enemyes back from their

* Knox intimates a suspicion, that he was sent rather as a spy upon the congregation.

entreprise, you shall putt us, and the hole cause, in an extreme daunger,* sparing all things uppon your commyng. Kircaldie hathe assured us, their cam an Englishe man, within these viij dayes, secretlie to the quene douagier, and was conveyed fourthe in secret maner, by the larde of Langton.† Other tokens of the man hathe he none, but that he speakith many good languages. We have thoughte very long for summe advertisement from you. And thus fare you well in God. From Disert, the xix of Januarie, by your assured in God.

Therle of ARRAYN,
And the Lorde JAMES.

You shall cause this other pacquet to be depeched to the courte.

No. CCXVI.

*Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to therle of ARRAYN and the
Lorde JAMES. ‡*

We have receyved your lordships lettres, in cipher, by this berer, of the xvth of this instant. And as we be most sorye to understonde your troubles by the molestacion and impechement of the French, so yet we be glad of the distresse made uppon them by your horsemen, and also of the taking of the shippes laden with municion; trusting, that God, of his goodnes, woll so assiste you in this your godly and iust cause, as their malice shall not be able to prevaile ayenst you. Our shippes, we assure your lordships, as we wrote to you in our last let-

* The situation of the reformed lords, while the French laid waste and burned their possessions in Fife, was becoming every day more critical, and must have ended in their being forced to fight to disadvantage, or to abandon the contest entirely, had it not been for the arrival of the English fleet.

† Cockburn of Langton.

‡ In cipher.

tres, which we doubt not ye have receyved or this tyme, be continually loked for on this cost, which shalbe hasted to the Frith with such spede as wynde and wether woll serve. Prayeng your good lordships, therefore, to take good comfort and courage unto you, and firmly to stande to the mayntenaunce and defence of your saide just and common action, as ye have don hitherto, moche to your praise and honour, and you maye assure yourselffs of our ayde with as moche expedycion as is possible, The larde Brymstson, sent from the courte from lord of Lethington, is this day entered into Scotland by Carlisle, on the west marches, who wolbe with you, as we thynke, assone or before thes our lettres shall com to your hands; and because ye shall understonde by him the good disposicion of the quenes majestie towards the ayde and safetie of you and your countrey, and what is mete to be presently considered both on your parte and ours in that behalf, which he can and woll declare unto you at good length; we woll not, therfore, trouble your lordships with any longer lettre at this tyme, but wishe you victorie, and as good successe in all your enterprises ayenst your enemyes, as your noble herts can desyre. The 20 of Januar, 1559.

No. CCXVII.

The Copie of RANDALL'S Lettres to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

My dewty most humbly remembered. It maye please your honors tunderstand, that the xxij^d of this instant, ther arryved here the lord of Brimstone, abowts vj of the clock at nyght, having ben very sore troubled by the wey, for the sore and daungerous traveiling at this tyme. His arrivall, and suche newes as he brought, gave no small conforte unto the dukes grace, and the rest of the lords here, who, before, thought very longe to hie som comfortable tidings from their

freends. Before his arrivall here, the master of Maxwell had sente from Donfrise a servaunte into Fife to the erle of Arraine and the lord James tadvertise them of his commynge; so that, as we may coniecture, they had understanding assowne ther, that he was here, as we that sawe hym, somuche also as conveniently might be wryten or commytte to the credytt of the berer that wente they were advertised of. The lords having this daie, viz. the xxiiijth, consydered howe muche they are bownde to the quenes majestie, and also howe favorable it hath pleased you to shewe yourselfs in the furtheraunce of this common cause, requyered me to signyfie unto your honours, that they thinke themselves most bownden unto her grace ever, and alwais to serve her, and unto you to reacquytt your good wils, what wey soever shall lye in their powers; whiche giveth me occasion to wryte thus muche of their mynds unto your honours.

Ther cam this daye a lettre from the lords that are in Fife to the lords here, advertising them that their freends ther did dayly leave them, being constreined by reason of their contynuall labour to seeke som rest for themselves and their horses, and that their enemyes grewe dayly strong upon them, and that they were faine to give place unto them, and to retyre themselves to Cowper, and leave their enemyes more at libertie. Wherefore, they requyred the duke, and thother lords, to repayre unto them with suche force as they are hable to make, with all expedytion. It is therfore determyned, that they woll, with all spede, prepare themselves thytherwarde with what power they are hable to make. Their convention shalbe in this towne upon Sondag next; and upon Monday they determyne to sett forwarde towards Sterlinge, where, they understand, are onely iijc. (300) Frenchmen to kepe the towne. Of the castell they have no suspytion of evill. They see that necessitie nowe forcethe them thus to doo, and to break all other determynations for this presente, untill they see what woll becom of this present combre. They have no small hope of the sending of those vc. (500) men into Fife; that they are informed of, and desire greate expedytion to be used therein. And I assure your honors

their neede requyreth no lesse. It were also veryie expediente, that ther were som shippes in the Frithe to encountre with suche as the Frenche have ther, who alweis following them, as they marche upon the coste, annoyeth more the Scottishemen (as I am informed) then doth the Frenche themselves scurmyshing upon the lande. Besids, also, that the French have no victuals but suche as are brought by see unto them. Your honours cann better consider thes things then I cann wryte of them, yet cannot yet be devised what their determynation is, but onely to werye thother out of the filds. If their purpos be to take St Androwes, if ther be no impechement to be made unto them before that they com ther, I had rather that they wold attempt to fortyfye that, then to retorne agein to Lethe; thon being alredy in good fortyfycation, and thother to be begonn. I cannot see also howe the Frenche shall retourne to Lethe by sea, if meanes be made for ships to lye abowts Burnte Iland, Kyrkawdy, and other places, to stoppe their passage. And to retourne agein by Sterling, the way is so longe, and, as I thinke, somwhatt intended agenst their comyng: Touching the sending of any noble men to conferr of thes affayres with the duks grace of Norfolk, the lords fynd it very good, but canne resolve nothing thereof untill their meeting. As concernyng the hostages; they are all in a redynes, and desire rather that the names of those may be sent, whom it pleaseth the quenes majestie to chuse, then to send the hoole xij; notwithstanding, as it shall seame good unto my lord duks grace to appointe the same. I have traveiled earnestly with the duke here, to send his second son, the lord of Arbrothe. The matter standeth yet in suspence, untill the meeting with my lord of Arraine. The yong gentelman desireth it very much hymself. I see no impedymment therunto (*nisi quod pater sit aliquanto ad rem*). If, notwithstanding, your honors do think that it will serve to any greter purpos to have hym rather then the youngest, I do not doubte but it wilbe graunted. I do not doubt, but that my lettres of the xxij^d are com into your hands. Barnabie hath obtayned leave to speake with La Marque, and that he shall not departe, but upon suche

termes as he shall fynd convenyent. Wherfore, he desireth to use your honour's advise; most humbly craving pardon for my hastie and unadvised wrytings. As the tyme presseth me, I take my leave. From Glascoughe, the xxvth of January 1559.

No. CCXVIII.

THO. RANDALL to *Sir* RAFE SADLEIR.

Maye it please your honor to understand, that, after I had ended my other lettres, I received these inclosed from my lorde of Arrain: wherby your honors maye iudge what comforte both he and the rest receive of the arrivall of the shippes. The dukes purpose towards Sterling contineweth still, except that they that are in Fyfe doo staye the same by reason of the meting with their freends, when the tyme shall be. It is thought that the quene douagier shalbe received very shortelie into the castell of Edynburgh, for any travaile that can be to the contrarie, with her onlie howsholde servaunts and gentlewomen. Maye it please you to knowe for certaine, that where she hathe writen to many gentleman and lords to be in a readines, they have absented themselves of purpose, bicause that they wooll take no knowledge that either lettres or message cam unto them, as my lord Morton one, upon whose doores the douagiers lettres were fixed, because no man wolde receive them. I am given to understand, that hir partie of Scottismen is not lyke to be very greate. Her force by sea is verie small. I hard, that there was a fayer shipp brought into a lyttell haven at Kenele, and neither man nor ware founde in her, nor no man knoweth to whome she bilongeth. The duke hathe sent this daye, bicause the towne is his, to inquyer farther howe she cam there. Thus, &c. 25 Januarij, 1559.

No. CCXIX.

The Copie of the Erle of ARRAIN's Lettres to THO. RANDALL.

Trustie freend. After hartly commendationes, wytt ye, that howbeit I have writen so oft at lenght to my father of all our procedings, yet wolde I write this woorde, to certefie you of our good newis, which are, that the shippes arrived yesterdaye in the Frythe, to the number of ix or x, as yet, and the remanent folowith. And that you maye shewe my lorde more the certaintie of this, John of Forrett, the lord James servant, cam this morning at twoo of the clock, whome they had retayned to this tyme by them, to conveye them in the Frithe, which he hathe doone; and nowe we are directing him again towards them with our mynde; and it you have advertised me of touching their fretment, shall not be forgotten. All other things I referre to my fathers writing. And so comytts you to the protection of God. At Cowper, this 23 of this instant.

By your most assured freende,

JAMES HAMYLTON.

Thanks be to God all is nowe well amongst these people! but when you understand the certaintie of the matter, it hathe not been without greate comber and hazard, that we have, God be praised, putt of this trouble, and stopped them of their entreprise, nowe they are in syke propos, by reason of the shippes they have seene, that, we beleve, they will passe this night to Lythe again. For they gar take botes over all, where we are making to them att this instant tyme, and shall make them the grevance we maye, and have directed to our freends to the same effect. So fare you well. Writen in hast this Fridaye morning, the 26 of Januar 1559, by

Your most assured freende,

JAMES HAMYLTON.

No. CCXX.

*The Cope of Therle of ARRAIN's and the Lorde JAMES STEWARTES Let-
tres to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

Trustie freends. After hartie commendacions. We received your double wryting; the one of the vij of Januarie, the other of the xvij of the same. And where you write that you have hard that the Franches have abandoned Lythe, you shall be assured that they have not doon so, but is repaying continuallie the places of the wall that are shott; but, that you maye understand the state of our affaires at this present; the ships arrived here the xxij^d of this instant; and, in the meane time, the campe of the Frenchemen was marching towards St Andrews, and were alredy com to the eby, besids the erles ferye,* trusting it had ben the marquesse.† But howe sown they understod them to be your shipps, so sown in the morne begann they to retire; and upon the xxijth were all night in Kyrkaldy; the xxvth, all night in Dunferling. This day they marche, as we suppose, towards

* Near the little promontory of Kincraig, at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. It took its name from the celebrated Macduff, who escaped across the cestuary at that place, when flying from Macbeth, who was approaching to besiege his castle of Kennoway.

“ That passage syne was commonly.
In Scotlande called the Erly's Ferry.”

Wyntowne's Cronykil, Vol. I. p. 232.

† The French, who were advancing along the coast of Fife, plundering the lands and villages in their march, concluded the ships to be those of the marquis D'Elbœuf, and fired a salvo to salute them. But when they saw them seize two French vessels, laden with provisions, they perceived their mistake, and began a painful and interrupted retreat by the coast to Stirling, in order to regain Leith. In this march they were dreadfully harassed, as well by the severity of the weather, as the perpetual skirmishing of lord James and his cavalry, who evinced great patience, skill, and fortitude, both during the advance and retreat of the French. It is particularly mentioned, that their armour had not been laid aside for twenty-one days.

Sterling; but, in consideration of their grete hunger of thes iij or iiij nyghts by past, and traveiling of them with our horsemen contynually, and that we caused cutt the briggs before them, we are assured they shall not wyne Sterling.

This Saterdag, at even, (which is the xxvijth of this instant,) and it shalbe, Godd willing, other twoo daies, or they wynn Leyght, gif they escayp so; but trusts surely to effamys the most part of them. In consideration of this present estate, gif your army might have or yet may prevent them, the matter is ended; otherweis, if they be not possible, we pray you make all possible hast, and hast us advertisement, that we may meete you, and to affix us an especiall daye. We have determyned, yf it shall please Godd graunte good successe, and wynd and wether serve, to assaile that ourselfs on Sonday or Munday next, cum by sea, for we are surely informed ther is not above iiijc. (400) men therinto for this present, as occasion shall serve, shall advertise you of all purposes, as we looke for advertisement. And so wyssheth unto you the confort of the eternall Godd. At Abirdour, the xxvjth of January, by your assured good freends,

JAMES HAMILTON,
JAMES STEWART.

No. CCXXI.

*The Copie of THO. RANDALL'S Lettre to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir
JAMES CROFT.*

Maye it please your honors to understand, that immediatelie uppon the arrivall of the lorde of Brymston unto the dukes grace here, he was dispeched unto my lorde of Arrain, and the lorde James into Fife, who beyng advertised that it was thought good that summe of these noble men shulde repaire towards the borders, to common with my lorde dukes grace of Norfolk, aboute suche affaires as shulde concern the

furtherance of these causes that are nowe in hande, my lorde of Arraine (seing nowe the common enemyes to have retired themselves out of Fife,) cam with all expedytion from thens to Glascoughe, to consulte what were expedient to be donn herein with the rest of the lordes here, who all have fownd it so necessarye, that they have devised to sende, with asmuche spede as maybe, the lorde James, the master of Maxwell, the lorde Ruthen, and Mr Henry Balnevs, to meete at any daye or place, where it shall please my lorde dukes grace to appointe; notwithstanding forasmuche, as thes noble men, are not present together, and must have convenyent tyme to be warned to be here, and also a space, to repaire unto any suche place as shalbe appointed for the convencion; my lorde dukes grace, by the advise of the lordes here, thought it expediente, that your honours shuld be advertised, and knowledge thereof to be given unto my lorde his grace of Norfolk, that the tyme wolbe somewhat longer then willingly they wold it shuld, before that they com. Albeit ther shalbe no delaie to thuttermost that may be devised, for that they both do consider their own urgent necessitie, and also the greate chardgs of their freends, for whiche occasion they have directed unto your honours this berer, and requyred me thus to wryte, desyring to be advertised from you both at what certein daye, after the xxth of this present, and at what place it shall seame good unto the dukes grace that they shall meete, consideringe that before that tyme it is not possible (be ther wills never so good) that they shuld be in a readynes. May it please therfore your honours, that the berer hereof may be retourned againe with spede, with your advises in this case, or otherwise, according to your wisdoms. It is thought that by the xxth daye they may be at any place, where it shall please my lorde dukes grace to appoynte, and that within eight daies after ther retourne, they shalbe in a redynes to any enterprise that shalbe intended. Considering what hope I had of the spedie retourne of the last expresse messenger I sent unto your honours, with my lettres of the xxijth, I doubt not a lytell what is becom of hym, for he hath alredy broken iii dayes of his promesse, that he might well have ben here. I wrote also unto

your honours lettres sithens his departure hens, bering date the xxvth, despatched by Carlisle unto Newcastle or Barwick, (whiche I trust are com to your hands or this tyme,) syns the whiche ther hath no suche thinge chaunced here, that I may iudge is not alredy com to your knowledge. The Franches have retired themselves out of Fife, to their greate disadvauntage and dishonour, having susteyned greate hunger and losse of many men. The arrivall of the Inglishe navie stoode thes men greatly in steade, and encouraged many to take theirpart that before lay by. In Fife, all suche gentelmen as were of any power or credit, that tooke ony parte with the Franches, as the lorde of Wymes, the lorde Bawerye (Balwearie), Syfeld, Bagonye, and other have promised their fidelitie, and given pledgis never to stand agenst the congregation.* This hath ben the lorde James action sins the Franches cam their wey. The lorde of Grainge his house is clene over throwen, † and the custodie of Burnt Iland given unto hym by the lordes. The Franches have burnt dyvers houses where they have ben, and useth grete crueltie where soever they becom. In Sterling they remayned retournyng but one day, and lefte behind them ther iiij ensignes. ‡ It is doubted what ther purpose, and whether they intend to fortyfie yt, or to remeyne ther, or in other places, untill that they be dryven unto their forte. Howebeit, this daie ther cam word that they were yesterdaie determyned, aswell they that are at Sterlinge as Lethcowe, to remove towards Edenburgh. They have taken a house of the dukes at Kenele, and burned all that they fownd in yt, for that ther was nothing ther that they might carye away. Ther was slaine by those that kept the house agenst them, on gentelman and ij souldiours. The duks

* Knox says, that upon the retreat of the French, the lord James apprehended the lairds of Wemyss, Seafeld, Balgony, and Durie, and others who had assisted the French, and shortly after dismissed them on such conditions as they never minded to keep, for such men have neither faith nor honesty.

† It was blown up with gunpowder. Kirkcaldy sent an indignant defiance to D'Oysell, saying, that though he had hitherto saved many of his Frenchmen when taken, they were henceforth to experience no quarter at his hand.

‡ i. e. four companies; probably about 400.

men took that daie a faithfull chapelein and a paynefull, of the bishop's of St. Andrewe,* called sir Andrewe Olifant, that accompayned the Franches in this voiage, by the commandement of his lorde and maister. Ther was fownd abowte hym a bill of as many as the byshop had named to be saved from spoiling in Fife; the copie of his inventorye is sent unto my lorde James, that the bishops freends may be the better knowen, and he hymself putt into the prison at Glascoughe. It is alweis doubted where the quene dougier woll bestowe hereself, but greatly feared that the lorde Erskene woll receave her, notwithstanding the late controversie between hym and certein Franche in Lethe, that accused hym to be enemye unto their countreymen, and brought som before hym that were hurte in Edenburghe. It is said that the fortyfication in Lethe dayly faileth, this wether no whitt advaunceth the same. The winter hath ben so unkind that the Franches longe after the sommer. Their myserie is so greate, and they so myserable, their extremyte suche, that I wonder what hope they have to eskafe with their lyves: and, as much as we cann perceive, they have no small doubt of themselves. I am certainly informed, that the quene dougier hath requyred certaine in Lodian to burne their own corne, wherunto onely one lord hath consented. Som other also, in whom she had good trust, are like to leave her. Touching the hostagis, the lordes are very desirous to knowe whiche of the xij yt wold please the quenes majestie for to chuse, and not to bring the hoole nomber, to avoyde bothe chardge and troble. Ther was this daie a gentelman depeched towards the lorde Huntley, to requyre hym to com assown as he could to the duks grace, and to give order unto his freends and servaunts to be in a redynes, within foure daies warnyng. It is not doubted but he wolbe here, and shewe hymself very forward in this action. The lorde of Southerland, sithens he was hurte, is becom a greate enemye of the Franches. The cheffest doubte, that the erle of Huntley had, whie (as he seyth) he ioyned not hymself unto the other lordes was, that he

* Formerly abbot of Paisley; he was natural brother to the duke.

doubted that they wold fall into som composition with the Franches, wherein being nowe resolved, (for that bands have ben offredd hym to the contrary,) it is given me to knowe, that he woll shewe hymself as forwarde as any of the rest. And thus muche hath the erle of Southerland seid on his behalf, as desired of purpos by the seid erle, to reporte unto the erle of Arraine; and lord James advertisement cam hither this night, that there are mo Inglishe ships arrived. Their doings hetherto have ben suche, that I never sawe people take greater reioyce of any felycytie that ever befell to them then these do. Ther hath ben an old prophetie, that ther shuld be twoo winters, &c. Touching Randals commyng hither, &c. The 4th of Februarie, 1559.

No. CCXXII.

*Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT to THO. RANDALL, in cipher.**

We have received your lettres of the iiijth of this present, by the which we do perceyve that the duke of Chastelherault, and other of the lords there, have devised to sende the lord James, the master of Maxwell, the lord Ruthven, and Mr H. Balnaves, to mete with the duks grace of Norfolk, the quenes majestes lieutenant here, at such day after the xxth of this present, and at such place as his grace shall appoynte, for to conferre uppon such affaires as shall concerne the furtheraunce of thes causes now in hande, whereuppon it hathe pleased his grace to commande us to signefie unto you, that he hathe thought good to appoynt the day of their conference and metyng to be the xxvth of this present, at Barwick, at which day and place his grace woll not faile to be for that purpose. And touching the hostages, you shall knowe eyther at that tyme orells before, which vj of the vij they

* Endorsed, "considerable papers."

shall bring. Prayeng you to travaile, that the duks seconde son, lord of Arbroth, may be one. Also, as we do lyke well your advertisement of therle of Huntleys good disposicion and forwardenes to ioyn with the duke, and thother lords, in this their common cause, so it shalbe good that the saide duke and the rest do use all the good wayes and meanes they can possible to enterteyne the saide erle, and to wyne him holly to their devocyone, whereby we thinke surely their cause wolbe moch advaunced. Fynally, the duks grace of Norfolk thinketh it not amisse that you shall com with the saide lords to Barwick, both for the better satisfaction of their desyres, and also for that his grace woll conferre with you uppon sondry things touching thes affayres, and in the meane season his grace prayeth you to be diligent in advertisement of all things, as they shall occurre in those parties, and to wryte in cipher, oneles you have sure conveyance of your lettres. The 8th of February, 1559.

No. CCXXIII.

THO. RANDALL to *Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.*

It may please your honours to understand, that the vijth of this present ther arrived the lord James, the master of Maxwell, and dyvers other lords of the congregation, to consult upon the despeche of suche of the lords as your honours were advertised of by my last lettres of the iiijth of this presente, to conferr with my lord duks grace of Norfolk, about the affaires of this realme. Forasmuche as they are nowe fully resolved both of the nomber, and of suche points as are to be debated at their meeting, their earnest desier is, that it woll please his grace to be at Barwick the xxiiij^d of this present, where, Godd willing, he shall not faile to fynd the lord James Stuyard, the lord Ruthen, the master of Maxwell, the lord of Pattarowe, and Mr Henry Balnaves, appointed by the hoole counsaile here to that effecte, as the

presence of them, or suche like, was requyred. Forasmuche as the way by lande is both daungerous and longe, it is thought best that my lord James, lord Ruthen, lord Pattarowe, and Mr Henry Balnaves, shuld imbarke at Petenwyn in the Frithe, whereof I have alredy wryten unto Mr Winter, the admyrall, desiring hym (as I was requyred by the lords) to appoint som convenyent vessell to transporte them to their most securitye and spedie furtheraunce of this cause. The master of Maxwell, for that his abode is nyer unto the borders, he intendeth to take his most convenyent wey by lande, and to meete at the day and place appointed. Touching the hostagis, they shalbe all in a redynes by that daie at St. Andrews, that assown as it pleased the duks grace to name suche as he best likethe, they may be immediately transported whether it shall please hym. Thus muche it may please your honours to knowe of their pleasures. Of other affayres here it may please you tunderstand, that the hoope of all men is very greate; the nomber dayly increaseth. The bishop of St. Andrews desireth to have som poore place to retyre hymself unto: their caase is petiefull when their clargie begynneth to faile them. The erle of Huntley hath begonn a reformation of religion in his countrey. The xiiijth of this present all the noblemen in thes parts assemble themselves at Aberdyne. The erles of Atholl, Arrell, Muntrosse, Marshall, Crafford; the lords Graye, Oglebye, Drumuntte, and Olyfant, have promysed to doo as the lord Huntley shall advise them, whereof this day the lords were advertised from the lord Gordon and the lord Ruthen. Touching the Franches, the iiij ensignes (whereof I wrote) remeyne in Starling, thother in Edenburghe, Liethe, and the countrey therabowts: they make what impedyments they cann: but when ony force cometh into those parts agenst them, they shall have no kind of victuals. It is said that they have requyred many to burne their own corne, and to destroye ther mylls: the certeintie hereof may be better knowen to your honours then unto me. May it please you to knowe, that I stand gretely in doubt howe safly all my lettres are com into your hands, that I have wryten unto your honours, seing that of iij messengers, besids this,

I have hard no maner word. I wrot also not long sithens unto my lord Dacres, and sent lettres that wey unto your honours; may it stand therfore with your pleasures, that I may understand what is becom of them, otherweis what order I may take, for the better conveyance of my lettres unto your hands, in suche sorte as I desier. It is requyred of me to accompaynye the lord James unto your honours. I desired to knowe your pleasures therin. It is alredye determyned here, that except your honours wryte the contrarye, that I shall com with them. Long may it please Godd to preserve your honours in helth to his glory, to lyve and jnioye the fructe that may insewe, both unto the realme of Inglande and Scotland, if his will be that they shalbe unyted togither in perfytt faithe and amytie, as greter lyklyhodd was never sins they were first devided in sunder. At Glascoughe, xth February, 1559.

My lord James sendeth before hym, by water, his provysion.

No. CCXXIV.

Therle of ARRAIN and the Lord JAMES to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Trustie freends, after our most hartie commendacions; as we understand you of your wisdoms, in your last writing did iustlie consider our present necessitie, wherunto we are putt by greate troubles we wer empeched with by the Franches. And we hartelie thanke you of this your liberalitie and frendshipp offered to us, so the present necessitie compelleth us to accept the same, but hes postponit to this tyme, till this present berer, Mr Whitlawe, myght be lasaryt. To whome it will be your good pleasure to deliver him the somme you offered to us, for it maye stand us in greate steade, as the berer will shewe you, to whome, as we have declared our myndes at lenght, so it will please you

give him full credence, and thus commends you to the protection of God. At Abirdone, the 29 of Januarie, 1559.

By your assured good freends,

JAMES HAMILTON.

JAMES STEWART.

No. CCXXV.

Lorde JAMES STEWART to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Right woorshipfull and trustie freends, after most hartie commendacions; abeit that long ago we were resolved to have sent this present berer, Mr Witlaw, unto you, as you maye perceive by this other writing, for suche affaires as the same purports, yet for diverse occasions hes differrit to this present. And bicause we are lothe to trouble with long writing, as we desier you gar him have the thing this other writing requyereth, so the necessitie of the same, with the hole present estate of all things here, I referre to the saide berer, to whome therfore you shall give credence as to myselfe. And so commytts you to the protection of God. At St. Andrews, the 6 of February, 1559.

By your assured good freende,

JAMES STEWART.

No. CCXXVI.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

Good Mr Sadler, you have knowne this berer, the lord of Leddyngton, but I here have had great prooffe of hym, to be both wise, honest and constant. I pray you lett hym receave your frendly interteynment, with some addition for my sake. God send us a good end of

your ministreall labors. He can shew you howe lowe the Frenchmen flye, yt can stowpe now to any Englishmans whystell. Tyme serveth all tornes, and loss of tyme loseth all good thyngs. From Westminster, the 18th of February, 1559.

Yours, as ye knowe assuredly,

W. CECILL.

*To the right honorable and my very frend
sir Raff Sadler, knight.**

No. CCXXVII.

The Quenes Majestie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

By the Quene.

Trusty and welbelovid we greete you well, and thank you for your greate travaile taken in our service. We have ordred that whainsoever the lord Graye shalbe appointid to entre into Scotland, sir James Crofts shall also be adioynid with him, to the intente y^t yf any mishap shulde com to the saide lord Graye, the other might take y^e principall charge and conduction of our people; and therfore in his absence we have also commaunded our cousin of Norfolke to committ the charge of our toune of Barwik to you, and of the two wardenries, in the absence of y^e lord Graye, whiche our pleasure is ye shall, as our said lieutenant shall ordre, take and kepe to our use, untill y^e returne of them bothe to the charge. And doo authorise you to make choyse of suche skillfull and discrete captaines to be in our saide toune, as shall seeme meete to you, without any notable hinderance of the purposed exploite. And these our lettres shallbe your sufficient warrant and dis-

* At the bottom of this letter, but not in Cecil's handwriting, is the following verse :

" Serviet aeternum parvo qui nesciat uti."

charge in that behalfe. Geven under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the xxviiijth of February, the second yere of our raigne.

Arms of Engl. and France.

*To our trusty and welbeloved sir Raphe
Sadler, knight.*

No. CCXXVIII.

Therle of ARRAIN to Sir RAFF SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Eftir oure maist hartye commendationis. This salbe to certifie zou that we mett with the erle of Huntlie in Sanct Johnnestoun this last Mounnday, ye ferd of this instant, and communit with him at lenth quham I fond applyable to ioyne in this present actioun, quhilk we haif ado, and to declare him self a plane parte takare thairin; alsweill in religioun as concerning ye common weill, and hes promessit to be at my lord dukes grace, our fader, and us, betwix and ye day appoyntit of meting, and to notifie this he hes send this berare to ws to be directed to the courte, thair to declare his mynde quham we desire zou, to caus be answerit of the post, and not intending to truble zou any mair at yis tyme, we committ zou to God. Of Burnteland, yis tenth of Marche, 1559.

Zour assured gude freynd,

JAMES HAMYLTON.

*To the rycht worshipfull sir Rauffe Saidlair and
sir James Croft, knights.*

No. CCXXIX.

Mr Sec. CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I praye you hold me excused that I have not visited you with my private lettres. I knowe you ar not ignorant that nether my heade nor hand is unoccupied: and y^e lyke I thynk of you, y^t ye ar not idle: but yet I maye more boldly blame your silence than you myne, and so w^t this quarrell I looke for a lettre from you. How ye iudge of thyngs there I knowe not, but we here doo trust well, that y^e bravery of y^e French wilbe cooled; at home they have ynough to doo with trooble, partly for relligion, partly for governance; God send his iust wrath amongst them to there amendment. In Scotland how they doo you best knowe. We here be of dyvers opinions; some thynk Lethe inexpugnable, having such a number of old men of warre; others trust it can not hold long ought, consideryng y^e long tyryng of y^e soldiours all this wynter. Some wish that there victells in Lethe might fayle, in which last poynt I cannot thynk of any lacke but of beverage. Well, how so ever the matter is, good corrage in a good quarrell, as this is, to delyver a realme from conquest, and consequently to save our owne, will much furder y^e matter. For Gods sake now, good Mr Sadler, bestowe all your labor, and promote this matter with all the spede y^t ye can: lett no tyme be lost: and so if ye will commend me to sir James Crofts, and encorrage hym to shew his habilitie of wise-dome, knolledge, and manhode in this service, I shall thynk you both wordy of honorable rest after this trooblesome tyme. Ye xxijth of March, 1559.

Your assured,

W. CECILL.

[Arms.]

The quenes majesty hath *ex proprio metu*, denyed monny sutors for your respect for Hundon Park.

*To the right honorable sir Raff Sadler, knight,
one of the quenes Majesties counsell of the
North.*

No. CCXXX.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

I do confesse that you may in dede iustly blame me for that I have not written som tymes a private lettre unto you, but I have lefte so to do because I had nothing ells to write then was conteyned in our common lettres; praying you to pardon me, and knowing your accustomed toile and busynes, which I think is rather increased then dymynished, I holde you excused for the lyk fault, if it be any. Now for our matiers here I trust in God the same can not but do well, whereof the likelihod is grete; and as ye be there of dyvers opynyons so be we here; but yet Legh is not thought to us inexpugnable, though percase it may be founde of suche strength as woll require a tyme, in which case, if we may be furnished of things necessary for the contynuance of the siege, we be in good hope here to render a good accompte of the same. The greatest want which our chiefetaynes here do feare, is lacke of money, which had they seame to care the lesse for the rest. Surely they go to this mater with a good courage, wherein sir J. Croft, to whom I have made your commendacions, woll, I doubt not, shew himself a serviceable man, being, I assure, right honestly determyned so to do, notwithstanding his late warning.* What care

* He seems to allude to some charge against Crofts, probably of peculation; Norfolk, who did not like that officer, throws out many hints of the kind.

I have had of thes things from the begynnyng God knoweth: and if it shall please his divine majestie to set a good ende in the same, I wolde then wyshe to be at rest, if it so please him, and to leave the ioie thereof to our posteryte. The 28 of Marche, 1560.

No. CCXXXI.

THO. RANDALL to *Sir* RAFE SADLEIR.

Maye it please your honours to be advertised, that since the last lettres writen unto my lord dukes grace, there hathe nothing happened here woorthie advertisement. At this present it maye please you to understand, that as my lorde duke, and his soon therle, hathe writen unto the dukes grace of Norfolk, so I perceive they are determined to mete with his grace the last of this present. By reason of the Frenchmens lyeng still in Lytquo and Sterling, and uncertaintie of their removing, it hathe forced the dukes grace here to chaunge diverse purposes, and to com with suche companye as presentlie are with him, leaving the rest of his freends to com after, within one daye or twoo, which beyng all assembled, as I am infourmed, will amounte verie neare unto viij m. (8000): we understand also, that the water is so growen betwene those of Fyfe and us, that it will be the longer before the lorde James with his freends can ioine with the rest: notwithstanding all this, it is hoped that the Frenche, in bothe the above-named places, will departe either this daye or to-morrow, whiche will greatelie advaunce our purpose. It hathe been long in doubte whither the quene douagier wolde either to the castell of Edynburgh, or to Lythe; it is saide, that it is nowe resolved, that she will to the castell, this daye.* Maye it please your honor to receave the copie of a lettre

* Accordingly she took refuge in the castle, lord Erskine consenting to receive her with such a train of attendants as might leave him master of the fortress. There is something

sent unto diverse lords, to the nombre of 26 or 30, wherof the lorde Mountgommerie is one, that lye by, or shewe themselves enemyes in this cause. These lettres are this daye dispeched to everie of them. Upon Saterdaye next the dukes grace departeth hence in his waye, and I trust by Soundaye at night will mete with the Englishe armye, at the place appoynted. I wrote unto my lords grace twoo lettres, thone of the 22, thother of the 25 of this present, synce my last arrivall, which I trust are com to his graces hands before this tyme; I sent them to the post of Carlisle. Thus most humblie I take my leave, writen in hast the 28 of Marche, 1560.

Your honor to commande,

THOMAS RANDOLPHE.

No. CCXXXII.

Copie of the Congregation Lettre to the Lords of Scotland.

After hartlie commendacion. It is not unknowen to you with what crueltie the Frenchmen, enemyes to the common weale of this realme, passe throughe diverse partes therof, not onlie herreand poure ones, and taking their goods, but also murdering of them in their owne howses, defendand their goods, by the manifest conquest which they intend to make of native realmes, conqyert and defended by the blood of our progenitors, for making of resistance to the which we have opponed ourselves, and sum tyme ieopard us with so many of our brethren and freends, kynd and trewe Scottismen to stopp them of their pretence, which our puissance could not extend, in respect that ye, and suche bylyars of your faction, wolde not assiste us, shewyng you rather open

very gallant in the conduct of this nobleman, who, during such a period, was determined to refuse admittance either to French or English, the two powerful allies of the contending factions.

and playne enemyes to the common weale of-our native countrey, then favorers therof, wherof ye possesse a parte and porcion with us, we sundrie tymes, by lettres and writings, partlie by proclamacions, desired you to com forwards, and assist to us for expelling the saide strangers; and last of all, by the providence of God, our freends of England beyng moved to ioyn with us to that effect, lettres were directed, charging you to be in Glasgou the xxvith of this instant moneth of Marche, to passe forwards with us, for meting our saide freends, to the effect aforsaide. And albeit the same daye, ells by past, ye in contemptiōe of the saide lettres, have in nowise com to us, notwithstanding that our freends hathe ells takin Scottis ground, and God willing, we purpose to ioyn with them on Saterdaye next to com, at Achisons haven in Preston Pannes,* appointed to that effect. Wherefore we praye you right effectuouslie, as you tender the glorie of God, and weill of our natyve countrey, and will shewe you to be true natyve Scottismen, that ye in proper person, with your kynne, freends, tenants, and servaunts, will com forwarts, well bodin in feir of werre,† and mete with us a Saterdaye next to com, at Lytquo, with 30 dayes victuall after your comyng, to passe forwards and mete our saide freends of England, for expelling the saide Frenchemen, and seking of this our native countrey to lybertie and fredom. Certefyeng you and ye fayle herein, we can not stand content with you, but will repute you as playne enemyes to the common weile of this our native countrey, and assistars to the saide Frenchmen, in conquisting therof, and use you thereafter, for your demerit, withoute acceptacion of you in favour of any pretended cause that ye can alledge herafter. And so fare we well. Of Glasco, the 27 of Marche, 1560, by

Your good freende as cause requyereth.

* The place appointed to rendezvous with the English army. Prestonpanis is a village and small sea-port about ten miles from Edinburgh, to the eastward.

† *i. e.* Well accoutred in martial appointments.

No. CCXXXIII.

Sir Rafe Sadleir to Mr Sec. Cecill.

SIR,

After my most hartie commendacions, considering that the quenes majesties armye is now in Scotlande, and the tyme uncerteyn how long they shall remayn there for the accomplishment of their enterprise to Legh, albeit by my lord of Norfolk gracis lettres, now addressed unto you, you shall perceive what lack is here of money, yet knowing your zeale to thadvancement of this service, I must neds also wryte privately unto you, to desyre you to travaile, that lack of money be no hinder-aunce thereof; what is xx m^{li}. (20,000l.) more or less in a pryncis purse, specially to be employed where such an advauntage may be takin as is now lykely to be had in this case, whereby in my poure opynyon it must neds folowe, either that these ij^o (two) realmes shall be conioyned in perpetuall unyte, or at the leste, to brede suche an enemyte between the French and the Scotts, as the French shall never have oportunitie greatly to annoy us by the way of Scotland, which hath ever ben thonly way whereby they could do us most annoyance; but I nede not to tell this to you, who knoweth better than I what is most lyke to folowe of this matier. Onely I besech you to consider what dishonour it wolde be, besides the daungier that might folowe, if our armye should be forced to retourne, *re infecta*, for lacke of money, as if percase they must neds abyde long uppon the siege of Legh, and lack money to buy their victuells and necessities where they can have none uppon credite, and so be inforced to com home for lack, without the atchieving of their saide enterprise, it must neds folowe that we shall leave the lords of Scotlande our friends, in such daungier and desperacion, as either they must be as a pray to the French, orells seke

such meanes and wayes for themselffs, as therby they must of force be freends to whom now they be enemyes ; and so being now our freends, becom our enemyes, and ioyne with the French agenst us as they haue don in tymes past, whereby the quenes majestie, besids the dishonour, shoulde also lose and bestowe in vayn all the charge she hath ben at hitherto. Trusting that you woll so travaile herein, that lack of money shalbe no cause of any such daungier ; and I besech you use such diligence also therein, as it may be sent hither in tyme. The zeale I have to the good successe of this matier, maketh me to write so earnestly to you in this matier, which you can consider better than I can, and so, &c. the last of Marche 1560.

No. CCXXXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLIER to the Larde of LETHINGTON the younger.

In my most hertie maner I commende me unto you. Herewith you shall receyve a letter addressed to you from Mr Secretarie, which the duks grace here of Norfolk hathe ben bolde to open, knowing that you woll not be miscontent with the same ; the proclamacions in French, and those also which you have in English, you may difoose and put abrode as you thinke good. The bishop of Vallence,* as you may perceyve by Mr Secretaries lettre, is commying hither to repayre towards you into Scotland ; whereof it is good that you do consider and advertise hither your opynyon how ye thinke mete to intreate him. We shall uppon his arryvall here put him in som feare and doubt of his entree into Scotland, considering the lords be now in armes in the felds ;

* John Monluc, bishop of Valence, one of the Commissioners appointed by Francis and Mary for settling the affairs of Scotland, and their principal agent in the treaty by which this war was at length ended. The unworthy advice given by Sadler to detain the ambassador of their Queen as an hostage, seems to have been rejected by the congregation.

but if he woll needs give thadventure to com to you, then to tell you myne opynyon, in case the dowagier woll not remove the French indelayedly out of Scotland; but that they woll kepe Legh and abyde all extremyte, the duks grace of Chastelherault, may well stay the bishop as a pledge of for his sonne in Fraunce, and use him further as to your wisdomes shalbe thought convenyent; but this I write to you as myne owne opynyon, whereuppon you may devise with others, and determyne therein what you shall think good, and uppon advertisement of your opynyons touching the order and intreatie of the saide bishop, we here woll signifie the same to the courte with spede. Thus looking howerly for advertisements from you, and wishing you good successe in your enterprises to Goddes honour and glorie, I committe you to his blessed tucyone. From Berwick the first of Aprile 1560, with the rude hande of your assured frende,

R. SADLEIR.

No. CCXXXV.

SIR RAFE SADLEIR *to the Lorde HEUME.*

MY LORD,

After my right hertie commendacions. It may please you to understonde, that sir James Croft at his departure hens, with tharmye into Scotland, declared unto me, that your lordship had appoynted to mete with him at the bounde rod of Berwick on Saterdag next to come, to common with him uppon certen causes, which he hathe shewed and declared to me at good length. And for that, I do now supplie his place here; he required me to kepe the saide appoyntment of meting with your lordship in his absence, which I am, and shalbe, God willing, redy to accomlishe uppon knowlege of your pleasure, prayeing therefore your lordship to advertise me of your mynde in that parte, and what hower

of the day we shall mete, referring the rest untill our meting. And so I commytte your lordship to the tucicoun of Almightye God. From Barwick, the iiijth of Aprile, 1560. With the rude hande of

Your lordships poure frende,

R. SADLEIR.

In the valuable collection of State Papers, published by Haynes, from the Cecil collection, the whole correspondence between the duke of Norfolk and the privy council, after the arrival of the former at Newcastle, to exercise his office of lord lieutenant, has been carefully printed, and occupies about 140 pages. * These, with the more private writings, which sir Ralph Sadler has thought fit to preserve, and which are now given to the public, make a complete record of the important transactions to which they refer. It would have been desirable to have blended them together, especially as many of the duke of Norfolk's letters bear also the name of Sadler; but reprinting so large a part of a well known, and not uncommon work, would have enlarged the present to an undue size. Referring the curious reader, therefore, to Haynes' collection, we have to preface the following secret instructions, with a few historical notices.

In the beginning of April 1560, the English army, commanded by the lord Grey, entered Scotland, and were joined at Preston, by the army of the congregation. Upon the 6th April, they approached Edinburgh, and had a smart skirmish with the French, upon the Hawkhill, near that town. Notwithstanding this warlike commencement, both parties meditated a treaty; and sir James Crofts, and sir George Howard, had an interview with the queen dowager at the castle of Edinburgh, during the very time of the action. This circumstance excited the suspicions of the lords of the congregation, who were with some justice apprehensive, that their English allies might make a separate peace, upon conditions, advantageous to their own country, and leave the Scottish insurgents to the vengeance of the queen mother. Lord Grey, the English general, on the other hand, was too deeply engaged in military business, to spare time for conducting a negociation with so artful a princess as the queen regent. These circumstances having been communicated by Grey to Norfolk, and by the duke to Elizabeth and her council, the following letters, which, for connection's sake, we transcribe from the collection of Haynes, were sent in reply.

* See Haynes, p. 216.

No. CCXXXVI.

To my Lord of NORFOLK.

BY THE QUEEN,

Right trusty and right entirely beloved, we grete you well. And having understanden the contents of your lettres of the sixth and seventh of this moneth, with lettres from the lord Graye out of Scotlande, amongst other things, and do well allowe your advise gyven to the lord Graye; not to entermedle with the siege of Edinburgh castel, for the same causes that you alledged, as well for the reference to the queens personne, as for the avoyding of offence to the Scotts. We do also allow the manner of proceedings in the offers made to the quene dowager, without losyng of any tyme thereby, for the exploit against Lethe. And bycause, as the lord Gray writteth, he cannot attend both the marshall affayres and a treatye, we thinke it necessary that sir Rauff Sadler shuld, with foresight of savete, repayre to the campe, and to understande the former proceedings, and so consequently procede in treatye with the best dilligence that he can: and so we pray you to let him knowe, our desyre is chiefly and principally, to have that matter of Scotlande accorded, rather by communication, than by force of bloodshede. And we be pleased, that ye shall authorise him in our name, to assure the quene dowager, that whatsoever she may be borne in hande, we mean nothing more then the preservation of our own realme, which her daughter chalenged and sought many wayes, and the contynuanee of that kyngdome in due obedyence to her daughter, to be governed by the lawes therof, and without force of armes. And if there shall be objected, as alwayes is, by the French, to colour the remayning of their men of warr, that the same is don for subduyng of the rebellion: we meane not to have the same removid untill the due obedyence shall be acknowledgid unto sovereign lady, agreable to the

lawes and liberties of the lande ; and for contynuanee of the same, we will be content that couvenaunts shall be made on our part, for to gyve ayde to the quene of Scotlande, for the subduyng of any such, as shall withstand to the contrarye. Of this our purpose, the sayd sir Raff Sadleyr shall make the duke of Chastelherault and his partye pryvey, using herin their advise, and requyre them to be content herewith. And if they shall have any good and probable reason to mislike or alter this our offer, or any part therof, then we woold the same sir Raff Sadleyr shuld reforme the same, according to their opinion, so as it may serve to tend to an accord, and be not prejudicial and hurtfull to our realme. In which very point we dōo remytt the consyderation therof to the sayd sir Raff Sadleyr, using therin the advise specially of lord Gray and sir James Crofts, whose doings we will accept in good part. There be dyvers great causes, that moveth us not to reject any probable offers of the quene dowager ; for that if the matter shuld not be endid, either by force or treatye shortly, it woold growe more harder hereafter to be compassed : And so lett sir Raff Sadleyr shewe, if he think good, to the duke and his partye of Scotlande, with assurance to them, that this motion arriseth not of any lack of good will towards them, but of consyderation and foresight of maters subsequent. This our instruction ye may, in our name, by the authority of your office, delyver to sir Raff Sadleyr, signed with your hande for his warraunt and proceding. And if ye shall think any more mater nedfull to be committed unto him, or to any other for treatye of an accorde, we do authorise you to do therin, as shall best appear to your wisdome, for our honour and expedition of peace. As to the hostages which be received, and by you desyred to be brought upp, according to the parents requests, in sum universitie, we think it better, to have them distributed hereabouts to certeyn our bishops, as of Canterburye, London, and Elye, where they maye be both savely kept, and encreas their lernyng. By the lettres of the lord Gray, written the sixth of this moneth, wherein mention is made of the offers made by the quene

dowager, to sir James Croffts and sir George Howard, we like very well the good service done by dyvers gentlemen our captaynes, to whom we doubt not but you have gyven particular thanks, and now we wold ye geave them thanks from us expressly. Other things we have not presently to writt, but earnestly require you to consyder our words for expedition of this matter, either by treatye, or otherwise.

No. CCXXXVII.

From my Lord his grace to Mr Secretarye, April 12, 1560.

I have received thes lettres here inclosed this present mornynge, som dyrected unto you, som to Mr Sadler, and me; whereby he may perceive the greate pensyvenes and feare of good success of this treatie the Scots are in, for the whiche I cann no weys blame them, touching them so neare, as the well proceeding of thes affayres doo. What good may com of this communycation in the ende, I knowe not, but in the meane tyme, I am sure it hath gretely hindred us in the holdinge of those, who were nowe determyned to take playne parte with the congregation, which all this tyme have lyen still as newtrals. I trust the quene's majeste, and you of the counsaile, woll ponder and waye howe it standeth (for the safftye of this realme) us now in hande to bring this enterprise to good ende; and howe it is cheper to fynysse this warr nowe begonne, then hereafter to begynn a newe. Perchance, in reading these lettres of the Scotts, you woll think that they have ben by us putt in further feare, then our dyrections have willed. As in dede, if I had been presente in the campe, howsoever the caase had benn, I wold have ben loothe, to have cast suche bones amongst them: neverthelesse for feare what may chaunce of their desperacioun, not being hable, before my cousin George Howard's retorne, with the quenes majesties resolutt determynation, to assure them of ony thinge, I thought good to sende in sir Raff Sadler and sir F. Leeke, who may

sumwhatt in the mean tyme content them with fayre and good wordes. Thus hoping shortely to heare from you, upon whiche I do nowe onely depende, I bydd you most hartely well to fare.

THO. NORFFOLK.

From Barwick, &c.

No. CCXXXVIII.

The Quenes Majestie to the Duke of NORFOLKE, by Sir GEORGE HOWARD, April 14, 1560.

BY THE QUEEN,

Right trustie and right entierly beloved cosyn, we grete you well. We have as well received your lettres by this bearer Sir George Howard, as also understand such further mater, as he had in charge to declare unto us; the grete parte wherof might have byn as well sent, either by writing, or by some other memorandum of lesse note, than he is, considering the place of his charge at this present: and therefore we have thought mete to return hym agayn with spede, and mynde to directe our full resolutions, touching the substance of the matters, with such spede as we may, by some other. And in the mean season we think it convenient, that his return shuld not give occasion, either to the French, to stande more obstinately at their defence, or furdre of from reasonable accomde, or to the Scotts to mistrust the prosecution by us of this mater begon, to the very ende that was first ment: and therefore woold, you shuld give order to the Lord Gray, like as we briefly advertysed hym, that furthwith upon the arrivall of the said sir George, the siege shuld be more earnestly prosecuted, and the treatie lesse regarded, except the same shall apparantly be seen, upon some circumstance to us unknowen, hurtful to the cause. We woold also that the Scotts wer advertised, that we be fully determined, rather to augment our army both by sea and lande, than that, for lacke of forse,

the exploite shuld be prolonged. Thies our devises we think necessary to be published by all good meanes, upon sir George Howards present return, because the expectacion therof, percase wold be otherwise, of the French, wherby they might, conceiving some slackness of our precedyng by his comyng, make them bothe stowte in the town, and more backward in the treatie. And notwithstanding that we wold the appearance of the mater shuld outwardly thus tende thereto, yet may you give signification to sir James Croft, or to sir Raff Sadler, if he be in Scotland, that reasonable offers to be made by the French to come to accorde, be not contemned or neglected : and indede we thinke, the more hardly the French be handled by siege, and the more apparance be made, now uppon sir George Howards coming, to prosecute the mater to the uttermost, the better shall the communication be founde for our purpose.

As for the two articles touching the expulsion utterly of all the French, and the removing the dowager from her authoritie, although we meane shortly to advertise our resolution therin ; yet, upon this bearers coming, we wool it might appere, that we will agree no otherwise, than shall seme manifest for the suertie of Scotland ; furdernore we understand by this bearer, that ther is no necessary use of so great a number of horsemen, as we be charged withall in Scotland at this present, and therefore we pray you to have some good and spedy consideration therof, and furthwith to understand the opinions of suche expert men as be with the lord Gray, and his own also : and if it shall appere that Parcell of the same numbers may be spared, than we wold that the sam wer done so dyscretely and covertly, as neither the French shulde coneyve any comfort, nor the Scotts discomfort, by withdrawing ; in which mater percase ye shall fynde the lord Gray more unwilling, for speciall favour towards suche as be interteyned : but if ther be no other cause, you may use therin more playness with hym on our behalf. And so we forbere to enlarge our further determination untill our next depeche, by some other speciall man of trust and knowlege.

CCXXXIX.

From my Lord his Grace to Mr Secretary, 15 April, 1560.

Althoughe, good Mr Secretarie, I have hered nothinge yet from the campe worthe advertisemente, sins my last lettres unto you, yet I thought good to wryte thes few lynes, wherby ye might perceave this longe distaunce betwene my lettres hath rather proceeded for lack of occasion, then for any slackeness in me. I have received this daie the quenes majesties and your lettres of the 9th of this moneth, by the whiche I do gather the good will, that the quenes majestie hathe to accomde thes greate matters with an amycable peace, for whiche cause here majestie wisshethe sir R. Sadlyer to be sent thyther, who alredy is gonn; of whom the quenes majestie doth gather no frustratt opynyon, in chusing hym as the metest instrument to serve here majestie there; who makyng no comparyson, is best estemed with the Scotts, of any Englishman, and with his credytt ther, is hable to doo moste for the quenes majesties service. I have neverthelesse, although I had alreadie at his departure gyven hym instructions according to the quenes majesties determynacion, yet nowe for the more sewertie, and the better executing of her highness pleasure therein, I have sent hym the artycles drawn out of her majesties lettre, the accomplyshment whereof I do no more mistruste, then if I were present ther myself. This daie ther is past by here twenty seven or twenty eight sayle of ships; we are in good hope that it is the ordynance, whiche, if yt be so, shall muche availe the quenes majesties servyce here: for I doubt not but you do well consider, that there is no peace that cann fall out, for our purpose here, except it be made, to the Frenche mens grete feare, with immynent danger of the hazard of all before their eyes. Thus hoping

shortely to be hable to wryte unto you of better newes, eyther by peaxe or warr, I bydd you, &c.

Postscript.

You neade not to feare any hurte that cann fall to us by the bishops man, for he went no further then the Scottishe campe.

THO. NORFFOLK.

No. CCXL.

CERTEYNE SPECIAL AFFAYRES UPPON THE FRONTIERS
TOWARDES SCOTLAND.

PRIMO AND SECUNDO.

The Duplicamente of the Accompte of Sir RAFFE SADLEIR, Knight, for certeyne severall Affayeres uppon the Frontiers towards Scotlande, commytted to his chardge, annis dominæ nostræ reginæ Elizabethæ.

Certeyne speciall Affayeres in Scotland.

The duplicamente of the accompte of sir Raffe Sadler, knighte, by whome the quenes highnes, uppon greate truste conceived in hym, conferred certeyne specielle service to be done, in the firste yere of hir majesties reigne, uppon the frontiers towards Scotlande, by her highnes lettres to hym in that behalfe, directed, auctorisinge hym thereby to conferre, treat, or practise, with any manner of person of Scotlande, either in Scotlande or Englande, for those purposes, and for the furtheraunce of hir majesties service, and for any other thing that mighte tende to make a perpetuall concorde betwixte the nation of Scotlande and ours; authorizing hym also to rewarde any manner of person of Scotlande as he shoulde thincke mete; and to imparte, deliver, em-

ploye, and bestowe, suche money as was comitted to hym at his departure; and also suche money as was, by speciall order, sent to hym to Barwicke at severall tymes, or so muche thereof as he sholde thincke mete, to suche persons, and for suche entents, as mighte most effectually further and advaunce that maner of service, then being specially recommended to hym, as he sholde see occasion, to hir majesties moste commodite, referring the manner and circumstances thereof to his discreation; as by sondry lettres, under hir highnes signet, together with a memoriall of certeyne articles delivered to hym by the righte honorable sir Willyam Cecill, knight, principall secretary to hir majestie, according to the tenore of the firste of the quenes majesties lettres to the saide sir Raffe Sadler, addressed more at large, maye appere: That is to saye, as well of certeyne money by hym receyved of George Bredyman, sometyme one of the gromes of the privie chamber to the late quene Mary, by hym received before his departure frome London, and of certeyne money by hym received of certeyne persons ap-
 poynted to have the conduction and cariage thereof to Barwicke, and there to deliver the same to the saide sir Raffe Sadler; as also, of the yssuyng, employng, and bestowing thereof to suche persons, and aboutes suche purposes, as was requisite for the saide service, and for and aboutes the dyettes of the saide accomptaunte during his abode in the said service. Of which premisses the saide sir Raffe Sadler doth yelde, and make this his accompte the xxiiijth daye of Maye *anno dominæ reginæ Elizabethæ viij^o*, as hereafter followeth, That is to saye, the said accomptant is charged with

Redy money by hym hadd, and received of

George Bredyman, esquier, sometyme one of the gromes of the privie chamber to the late quene Mary, the viijth day of Auguste, *anno primo dominæ Eliz. reginæ prædictæ*, as by the accompte of the saide George Bredyman, and by a bill under the hande of the saide sir Raffe Sadler, testefying the receipte thereof, emongs other remembraunces of the same accompte remayning, maye appere the somme of - - - - - m.m.m.^{li}

Richarde Overton, appoynted to conducte and carye the somme of three thowsande poundes to Bárwicke in October 1559, and there to deliver the same to the saide sir Raffe Sadler; whiche moneye was delivered to the saide Richarde Overton by sir Willyam Cecile, knighte, principall secretary to the quenes highnes therto directed, and specially commaunded by the quenes majestie, being suche money as he receyved of the saide George Bredyman, to be by hym employed and yssued agayne as hir majestie sholde directe hym, as by the saide accompte of George Bredyman may appere, the somme of - - - - - m.m.m.ⁱ

Edwarde Randolphe, esquier, lieutenaunte of hir majesties ordenance, appoynted likewise to conducte and cary the some of three thowsande poundes to Barwicke in November 1559, and there to deliver the same to the saide sir Raffe Sadler; which money was delivered to the saide Edward Randolphe by the same sir Willyam Cecill, knighte, owte of hir majesties privie purse, as by a certificate, under the hande of the saide sir Willyam Cecill, may appere, here charged upon the confession of the saide accomptant, - - - - - m.m.m.ⁱⁱ

Somme totall of the receipts aforesaide, ix^m

Money by hym yssued, employed, and payde, to diverse Persons of Scotlande.

The saide accomptante is allowed for, first, the saide accomptante is allowed for money by hym delivered and paide to certeyne of the lordes and nobilitie of Scotlande by the handes of Alexander Whitlawe, Scottishman, in the name of the counsell and lordes of Scotlande, as by an acquittance,

subscribed by certeyne of the saide
 lordes and nobilitie, dated at St An-
 drowes, in Scotlande, the firste daye
 of December, 1564, may appere the
 somme of - - - - - $vj^m \text{ } v^c \text{ } li$
 £6500

Also, the saide accomptaunte is allowed
 for money by hym paide to divers
 Scotismen in rewarde, and for spiall
 money, charges in conveying of let-
 tres, and divers other charges in and
 about the said service as occasion did
 requier by the discreation of the saide
 accomptante, so appointed to doe by
 the quenes majesties warraunte, above
 charged, the somme of - - - $ciiij^{xx} \text{ } xv^{li} \text{ } ix^s \text{ } iiij^d$

 $vj^m \text{ } vj^c \text{ } iij^{xx} \text{ } xv^{li} \text{ } ix^s \text{ } iiij^d$
 £6695 9 4

To certeyne Englishmen.

Also, allowed to the saide accomptaunte
 for monney by hym paide to capteyn
 Readesman for the conveyaunce of a
 Scottishman to Holly Iland ij^s ; and
 to capteyn Drurye for his charges to
 Edenborough, and in retorning to the
 courte at Westminster, in poaste, vij^{li}
 x^s in the hole, - - - $vij^{li} \text{ } xij^s$

Also, allowed to hym for money deliver-
 ed and paide to Valentyne Browne,
 treasurer of the army in Scotlande, in
 the seconde yere of the quenes ma-
 jesties reigne, by warraunte frome the
 saide sir Willyam Cecill, principall se-
 cretary to hir highnes, to be employ-
 ed in the dischargd of the saide ar-
 my, as by a bill under the hande of the

saide Valentyne Browne, dated xxj^o
 Julij 1560, appereth, which is char-
 ged and answered in the accompte of
 the saide Valentyne Browne, made
 for the charges of the saide army, the
 somme of - - -

cccc^{li}

 iiij^c vij^{li} xij^d

Money paide into the receipte of the Exchequier.

Also, the saide accomptaunte is allowed for money by
 hym paide and delivered into the receipte of the ex-
 chequier by the handes of the saide sir Willyam Ce-
 cill, knighte, as of the remayne of a more somme de-
 livered to the saide accomptaunte by the quenes ma-
 jestie aboutes hir highnes affayeres in the north partes,
 as by a taylle levied in the tearme of seynte Michael
 tharchaungell, *secundo die Marcii annis tertio & iiijto do-*
minæ reginæ prædictæ, appereth the somme of - -

m^{li}

Somme totall of the payments and allowances aforesaide, viij^m ciij^{li} xvj^d

And so the saide accomptante is indebted, upon the de-

termination of this his accompte, the somme of - viij^c iiij^{xx} xiiij^{li} xvij^s viij^d
 £893 18 8

Where allowed to the saide accomptaunte by discreation of the lorde
 highe treasurer of Englande and the chauncellor of the exchequier for
 his ryding charges and postinge charges, and other necessarie expen-
 ces owtewardes and homewardes in his saide journey, in consideracion
 of a more somme by hym expended therein, as he affirmeth upon
 this accompte the somme of xxxj^{li} xvij^s viij^d. And yet the saide ac-
 comptant is indebted, upon the determination of this his accompte
 the somme of viij^c lxx^{li}, which is paide into the receipte of the exche-
 quier, *termino Pasche anno viij^{vo} dominæ reginæ Elizabethæ*, as by

alle levied xvij^{vo} Junii, *anno viij^{vo} reginæ predictæ* appereth.

And so the saide accomptaunte

is discharged and quyte,

WINCHESTER, WA. MILLMAY.

Ex^r prors. { Johene Haurby,
Henricum Coddendam. } Audit.

No. CCXLI.

*A Special Memoriall for Sir R. SADLER hymselfe.**

Memoriall of things to be emparked to the Quenes Majestie.

The mattre of Mr Sadlers,

Firste, y^t he understand how y^e proceedings there diffre from our intelligences here, and therafter to proceede, eyther the quicklyer or the slower.

Item, y^e principall scope shall be to nourish y^e faction betwexte y^e Scotts and y^e Frenche, so as y^e Frensh may be the better occupied with them, and the lesse busy with Inglande. The meanes wherby may be these, as followeth, besides such as Mr Sadler of hymselfe shall thinke meete.

Fyrst, to provoke all suche as have stirred in the last assemble, to require the quene regent to performe her promises, bothe for restoring of religion, and sending away y^e Frenchmen, and to perswade them, y^t althoughe they may be reconciled with promises or rewards, yet shall they never neid be trusted by y^e Frensh.

Item, to procure y^t y^e duke may for preservacion of y^e expectant interest which he hath to the croune, yf God call the yong quene before

* This title is the hand-writing of Mr Cecill.

she have issue, instantly withstand y^e gouuernance of y^r realme by any other, then by the blud of Skotland, likeas y^e king of Spayne being husband to y^e queene of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spirituall, or temporall, to any straunger, neither dothe he otherwise, nor his father before him, in his countries of Flanders, Brabant, or any other, but suffereth them to be gouuerned holy by their owne nation. In this point, yf y^e duke meane to presarve his title, ought he to be earnest, for otherwise he maybe asseured, y^r y^e Frensh, under pretense of subduing of religion, will also subdue y^e realme, and extirpe his house.

Item, yf this may be compassed, than may the nobilitie of Skotland also require of theyr queene, that to avoyde suche mortall warres and bludshed as hath bene betweene England and Skotland, there might be a perpetual peace made betwexte those two realmes, so as no invasion shuld be made by eyther of them, by their frountiers, and for the aunswear of an obiection which maybe made to disturbe this purpose, yt may be well sayde, y^r althoughe y^e Scottish queene doo falsely pretend title to the crowne of England, yet doth she but as descended of y^e blud of England, y^r is to saye, of y^e body of king Henry y^e vijth, whereunto none of Skotland either doth, or can make pretense, and therefore none ought to be abused with any such perswasion.

Item, the duke may pretend as good cause to arreste Monsieur Doy-sell, and som other of the Frensh, for aunswearing for his two sonnes y^e erle and lord David, as the Frensh have don in driving away the one, and imprisoning the other, being neither of them his subiects nor offendours against him.

Item, yt shall doo well to explore the very trueth, whether y^e lord James doo meane any enterprise toward y^e crowne of Scotland for himself or no. And if he doo, and y^e duke be found very cold in his owne causes, it shall not be amisse to lett the lord James follow his owne device therein, without dissuading or perswading him any thing therein.

Item, fynally, if he shall fynde any dispocicion in any of them to ryd away y^e Frensh there, he may well accelerate y^e same, with this persuasion, y^t yf they tarry untill y^e ayde com out of Fraunce, they shall fynde these to abide longer then they wold.

MEMORIALS
CONCERNING
THE BORDER SERVICE.

VOL. II.

2 M

The Memoranda which follow seem to regard the State of the Border in 1559-60, when Sir Ralph Sadler exercised the office of Warden, upon the Earl of Northumberland's sudden departure to London.

MEMORIALS

CONCERNING

THE BORDER SERVICE,

IN 1559-60.

No. I.

THE NORTH PARTS.

The monthlie Chardgis of all theextraordinarie Garrisons in the Northe parts, aswell of the Captens, Officers, and Soldiours serving upon the Frontiers against Scotland, as also of the Fortifications ther, the xxij^d of August, 1559.

Sir JAMES CROFTE, Knight,

Capten generall of Berwik	-	per diem. xxs.	per mensem. _____	xxviijli. £28 0 0
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GEORGE BOWES, Esquier, Marshall of Berwike.

One capten of light horsemen, at	iiij ^s . vjd.	vjli. vjs
	4 6	6 6
iiij light horsemen, at xijd. the pece	iiij ^s	vli. xijs.
	4 0	
One capten of footemen, at	- - iiij ^s .	cxij ^s .
One peticapten, at	- - ijs.	lvjs.
1 ensingberer, 1 seriaunte, and 1 drome,		
at xijd. the pece	- - - iij ^s .	iiijli. iiij ^s .
xij armed soldiours, at xd. the pece	xs. xd.	xvli. iij ^s . iiijd.
iiii ^{xx} vij (87) harquebuziers, at viij ^d . the		
pece	- - - lvij ^s .	iiii ^{xx} jli. iiij ^s .
		_____ cxxli. xvij ^s . iiijd.

Sir Wm. INGLEBY, Knight, Treasurer of Berwike.

	per diem.	per mensem.
Himself at - - -	xs.	xliij <i>li</i> .
iiij clerks, at - - -	vs.	vij <i>li</i> .
v horsemen, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece - - -	vs.	vij <i>li</i> .
		<hr/> xxviiij <i>li</i> .

Sir RICHARD LEE, Knight.

Hymself, at - - -	xxs.	xxviiij <i>li</i> .
x servaunts, at viij <i>d</i> . the pece - - -	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .	ix <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> xxxviij <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .

RICHARD OVERTON, Clerke of the Musters.

Hymself, at - - -	ijs.	<hr/> lvjs.
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THOMAS GOWER, Esquier, Mr. of thordenance.

Hymself, at - - -	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .	<hr/> ix <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
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FRAUNCIS SOMERSET, Esquire, Capten.

Hymself, at - - -	viijs.	xli. iijs.
j peticapten, at - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>s</i> .
j ensingberer, at - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	iiij ^s	cxij <i>s</i> .
cxx soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	cs.	cxli <i>li</i> .
iiij ^{xx} (80) soldiours, at viij <i>d</i> . the pece	lijs. iiij <i>d</i> .	lxxiiij <i>li</i> . ijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> ccxxxix <i>li</i> . vjs. iiij <i>d</i> .

WILLIAM DREWRYE, Esquier, Capten.

Himself, at - - -	viijs.	xj <i>li</i> . iijs.
One peticapten, at - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>s</i> .
j ensingberer, at - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	iijs.	cxij <i>s</i> .
lxxij soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	lxs.	iiij ^{xx} iiij <i>li</i> .
cxxviij harquebuziers, at viij <i>d</i> . the pece	iiij <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i> .	cxix <i>li</i> . ixs. iiij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> ij ^c xxviij <i>li</i> . xij <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
		£228 13 4

CUTHBERT VAUGHAN, Esquier, Capten.

Himself, at - - -	viijs.	xj <i>li</i> . iijs.
j peticapten, at - - -	iijs.	cxij <i>i</i> .
j ensingberer, at - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xij <i>d</i> . the pece	iijs.	cxij <i>s</i> .
lxx soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	lvij <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .	iiij ^{xx} j <i>li</i> . xij <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> .
		£81 13 4
cxix herquebuziers, at viij <i>d</i> . the pece	iiij <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .	cxixj <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> ccxxviij <i>li</i> iiij ^s

	per diem.	per mensem.
<i>Capten REDE.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	vijs.	xjli. iijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j ensingberer, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
ij seriaunts & ij dromes, at xijd. the pece	iijs.	cxijs.
iiij ^{xx} j (81) soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	lxxvijs. vjd.	iiij ^{xx} xlii. xs.
cxix harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	lxxixs. iiijd.	cxjli. xvjs.
		<hr/> ccxxxli. xvs. iiijd.

<i>WILLIAM MARKHAM.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, & j drome, at xijd.		
the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiijli. iijs.
xxxvij soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	xxxs. ijd.	xliijli. iiij. viijd.
lxiiij harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	xlijs.	lviiijli. xvjs.
		<hr/> cxiiijli. xijs. viijd.

<i>Capten SUTTON.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
j peticapten, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, & j drome, at		
xijd. the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiijli. iijs.
xlvi soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	xxxvijs. iiijd.	liijli. xiiis. iiijd.
liiij harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	xxxvjs.	li. viijs.
		<hr/> cxvjli. xijs. iiijd.

<i>Capten INGLEBY.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
One peticapten, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt, and j drome, at		
xijd. the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiijli. iijs.
xxx soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	xxvs.	xxxvli.
lxx harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	xlvijs. viijd.	lxvli vjs. viijd.
		<hr/> cxijli. xvijs. viijd.

<i>Capten TWETIE.</i>		
Himself, at - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
Peticapten, at - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
Ensingberer, seriaunte and drome, at xijd.		
the pece - - - -	iijs.	iiijli. iijs.
x soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	vijs. iiijd.	xjli. xijs. iiijd.

	per diem.	per mensem.
iiij ^{xx} x (90) harquebuziers, at viijd. the		
pece - - - - -	lxs.	iiij ^{xx} iiij <i>li</i> .
		<hr/> cviiij <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i> .

RICHARD PIKEMAN and JOHN PREGLE, *Cpts.*

Themselves, at iijs. the pece - - -	vjs.	viiij <i>li</i> . viijs.
Ensingberer, seriaunt and drome, at xijd.		
the pece - - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li</i> . iiijs.
xliij soldiours armed, at xd. Ɔ diem the		
pece - - - - -	xxxvs. xd.	li. iijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
lvij harquebuziers, at viijd. the pece	xxxvijs.	liij <i>li</i> . iiijs.
		<hr/> cxv <i>li</i> . xixs. iiij <i>d</i> .

THOMAS BROWNE and WILLIAM DYTKEKE, *Cpts.*

Themselves, at iijs. the pece - - -	vjs.	viiij <i>li</i> . viijs.
j ensingberer, j seriaunt and j drome, at		
xijd. the pece - - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li</i> . iiijs.
xl armed soldiours, at xd. the pece	xxxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .	xlviij <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
lx other soldiours, at viijd. the pece	xls.	lvj <i>li</i> .
		<hr/> cxv <i>li</i> . vs. iiij <i>d</i>

JOHN CARVILE and EDWARDE WOOD, *Cpts.*

Their owne wagies, at iijs. the pece	vjs.	viii <i>li</i> . viijs.
Ensingberer, seriaunt and drome, at xijd.		
the pece - - - - -	iijs.	iiij <i>li</i> . iiijs.
xv soldiours armed, at xd. the pece	xijs. vjd.	xxxij <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
xxxv other soldiours, at viijd. the pece	xxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .	xviij <i>li</i> . xs.
		<hr/> lxxij <i>li</i> . xvs. iiij <i>d</i> .

WM. REEDE, *Capt. for teh Holly and Ferne Iland.*

For two deputies, thone for Holley Ilande,		
thother for Ferne Ilande, at ijs. Ɔ		
diem the pece - - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
Two Mr. gonners ther, at xijd. the pece	ijs.	lvjs.
One Mrs. mate, at - - - - -	xd.	xxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
xx souldiours, at viijd. Ɔ diem the pece	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .	xviiij <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
		<hr/> xxviiij <i>li</i> . iijs. viij <i>d</i> .

The Gonners of the greate Ordenance at Berwicke.

One master gonner, at - - - - -	iijs.	cxijs.
His mate, at - - - - -	ijs.	lvjs.
iiij quarter-masters, at xvjd. the pece	vs. iiij <i>d</i> .	vij <i>li</i> . ix. iiij <i>d</i> .
xliiij gonners, at xijd. the pece -	xliiij.	lxj <i>li</i> . xijs.
		<hr/> lxxviij <i>li</i> . ix. iiij <i>d</i> .

per diem. per mensem.

The Gonners at Carlisle.

Tenne gonnens ther, at viij*d.* the pece vjs. viij*d.* ————— iv*li.* vjs. viij*d.*

The Gonners at Warke Castle.

One master gonner ther, at	-	xij <i>d.</i>	xxvijs.
His mate, at	- - - -	xd.	xxijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
ij other gonners ther, at viiij <i>d.</i> the pece		xvj <i>d.</i>	xxxvijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
			<hr/> iiij <i>d.</i> viijs. viij <i>d.</i>

The Benevolence Monye to the old Garrison.

cxl, at <i>iiijd.</i> the pece	-	-	xlvijs. viiij <i>d.</i>	lxv <i>li.</i> vjs. viiij <i>d.</i>
iiij ^{xx} x (90) at <i>ij<i>d.</i></i> the pece	-	-	xv <i>s.</i>	xxj <i>li.</i>
				<hr/> iiij ^{xx} vii <i>li.</i> vjs. viiij <i>d.</i>

	per diem.	per menses.
Sum of the extraordinary chardges, as is aforesaide	lxxvli. ijs. viijd.	mmcvli. ijs. viijd.
		£2005 2 8

In another copy the following names are added to the abovementioned.

PHILLIPP STIXLEY, *Capt. of Fotemen.*

Himself,	-	-	-	-	ijs.
Thalf wagis of one ensingberer, seriant & drome, at vjd.					
Ɔ diem the pece	-	-	-	-	xviijd.
xvij armed souldiours, at xd.	Ɔ diem the pece	-	-	-	xiijs. ijd.
xxxiiij souldiours, at viijd.	Ɔ diem the pece	-	-	-	xxijs.
					lvjli. xviijs. viijd.

JOHN BENNET, *Master of thordnance in the North.*

Himself, his clark, and his men, at - - - xijs. iiij*d*. xvij*li*. vs. iiij*d*.

JOHN FLEMYNGE, *Master Gounner.*

Himself, at	-	-	-	-	iijs. iiij <i>d.</i>
The master mate, at	-	-	-	-	xx <i>d.</i>
iiij quarter masters, at xij <i>d.</i> Ɔ diem the pece	-				iiijs.
xliiij gounners, at x <i>d.</i> per diem the pece	-				lvjs. viij <i>d.</i>
					<hr/> lxxix <i>li.</i> vjs. viij <i>d.</i>

(In this copy Sir Richard Lee and Capt. Twetie are not mentioned; and it seems too of a different date: it ends with, "the somme totall of the monethlie chardgis aforesaid.")

Men, mvijic 1 (1850) besides the chief officers, captens, and inferior officers:

Arg. - - - - - m m ccccxij^{li}. xvij^s. viij^d.
£2413 18 8

	per annum.
The capten of the towne	clxxli. xvs. xd.
The capten of the castle, with his retynewe	iiij ^c xlvi. xjs. viijd.
The marshall	xxxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
The treasurer	xxli.
The gentilman porter	xxli.
The master of the ordenance	xxli.
ij tipstaves	xxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
vij constables	lxxijli.
xxx gonners	ccliiijli. xxd.
cxxxij horsemen	vij ^c xxli. £820
lvij footemen	cccixli xijjs. iiijd.
xxij watchmen	xvli. viijs.
The mayor	xli.
The customer	xli.
The comptroller	vli.
The master mason	xijli. ijs. iiijd.
The master carpenter	xixli. vs.
Annuities for terme of lyfe	xlviijli. vis. viijd.
The Ferne and Holly Ilands	iiij ^{xx} li.
The _____ of thordenance	cxxxviijli. xvs.
Summe	per menses. ciii ^{xx} xiiijli. vjs. jd.—m m v ^c xxvili. xijjs. xd. £2526 13 10

There is an error in this accompt.

No. II.

An Estimate of all suche Fees and Allowances as are dewe for the Castle and Towne (of Berwicke) ther, withe the Officers, and olde ordynary Garrison, for one hoole Yeaere, as followethe:

The Capten of the Castle.

Sir James Crofte, knight, per ann.	lxvjli. xijjs. iijd.
xl soldiours, at viij xijjs. iiijd. per	
ann. le pece	cclxvjli. xijjs. iiijd.
x gonners, at ixli. ijs. vjd. le pece	
per annum	iiij ^{xx} xjli. vs.
xxx watchemen, at xiijs. per	
annum le pece	xxjli.
	iiij ^c xlvi. xjs. viijd.

Capten of the Towne.

The said sir James, per ann. lxxvj*li.* xiiis. iiij*d.*
 Reparacion money for locks &
 keys of the gates, per ann. xxvj*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*
 ij espialls, at vj*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.* le
 pece per annum - xiiij*li.* vjs. viij*d.*
 x blanke rownes per annum iiij^{xx} vj*li.* xiijs. 4*d.*
 ————— ciiij^{xx} xiiij*li.* vjs. viij*d.*
 ————— vj^c xviiij*li.* xviijs. iiij*d.*

*THOFFICERS with their RETYNEWES.**Marshall,*

George Bowes, Esquyer, per ann. xxxiiij*li.* vjs. viij*d.*
 xxiiij horsmen, wherof xij at
 vj*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.* & xij at vj*li.*
 per annum le pece - clij*li.*
 ————— ciiij^{xx} vj*li.* vjs. viij*d.*

Chambreleyne,

Sir Robert Ellerkere, knight, per
 annum - - - xx*li.*
 xij horsmen, wherof iiij^{or} at vj*li.*
 xiijs. iiij*d.* & viij at vj*li.* le
 pece per ann. - lxxiiij*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*
 ————— iiij^{xx} xiiij*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*

Treasurer,

Sir Wm. Inglebye, knight, per
 annum - - - xx*li.*
 xvj horsmen, wherof iiij^{or} at vj*li.*
 xiijs. iiij*d.*, & xij footemen at
 vj*li.* vjs. viij*d.* per ann. le pece iiij^{xx} xl*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*
 ————— cxli. xiijs. iiij*d.*

Master Portre,

John Selbye, esquyer, per ann. xx*li.*
 xx men, wherof sex horsmen at
 vj*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*, & xiiij foote-
 men at vj*li.* vjs. viij*d.* per
 annum le pece - - cxiiij*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*
 ————— cxxxiiij*li.* xiijs. iiij*d.*

Master of the Ordynance,

John Owrde, gent. per ann. xxli.
 xxx gonners, wherof xxij at ixli.
 & viij at vjli. xiijs. iiijd. le
 pece per annum - ccljli. vjs. viijd.
cclxxvjli. vjs. viijd.

Tipstaves,

Two at xli. xiijs. iiijd. le pece
 per annum - - - xxiiijli. vjs. viijd.
 ij servaunts at vjli. per annum le
 pece - - - xijli.
xxxvli. vjs. viijd.

Constables,

vij, wherof iiij^{or} at xli., & iiij^{or}
 at vijli. - - - lxxijli.
 vij men at vjli. le pece per ann. xlvijli.
cxxli.
ix^c liijli.

*The great Nombre.**Horsmen,*

lxxvj, wherof xix at vjli. xiijs. iiijd., & lvij at vjli.
 le pece per annum - - - iiij^cijj^{xx}viijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Footemen.

xxxij at vli. vjs. viijd. le pece per annum - ciiij^{xx}xli. xiijs. iiijd.

Watchmen.

xxij at xiijs. per annum le pece - - xvli. viijs.
vj^c liiiijli. xiijs. viijd.

Trumpetours and Surgeon.

There is also more allowed unto the said capten and garrison, one
 trumpetour at ijs. per diem, and one surgeon at xviijd. per diem,
 per annum - - - lxiiijli. xvijs. vjd.

*Lettres Patents for**Officers Fees, viz.*

The maior, per annum - - -
 The customer - - - xli.
 The comptroller - - - vli.
 The master mason - - - xijli. iijs. iiijd.
 The master carpentre - - - xixli. vs.
lvjli. viijs. iiijd.

Annuities for Terme of Lif, viz.

Thomas Carlisle	-	-	-	-	xxli.
Robert Story	-	-	-	-	xijli. iijs. iiijd.
John Browne	-	-	-	-	xijli. iijs. iiijd.
Thomas Bell	-	-	-	-	iiijli.
					<hr/> xlviijli. vjs. viijd.
					<hr/> ciiijli. xvs.

Somme totall of all the foresaid payements for Berwicke, per

annum	-	-	-	-	-	mmiiij ^c iiij ^{xx} xiiijli. vs. vjd.
						£ 2394 5 6

No. III.

*A Rate of your (Sir Rafe Sadler's) weeklie Chargis, for your selfe and
your Retinewe, if you shoulde bourde within an other.*

Sir Rafe Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xxs.
Railton	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Tho. Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Ric. Sadleir	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Horssey	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Parke	-	-	-	-	-	xs.
Greene	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Lovering	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Fryar	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Jaques	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Clerke	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Huntman	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
John Alec	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Starkey	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Adams	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
Mr Tho. Man	-	-	-	-	-	vjs. viijd.
						<hr/> vjli. xvjs. viijd.

To sir John Forster, for the use of thoffice of the wardenrie of the

Middle Marches, Tindall and Ridsdale, besids the fees and pro-

fets incident to thofficis of Hexhamsheir Tindale and Ridsdale

per diem - - - - - xiijs. iiijd.

iiijli. xiijs. iiijd.

To sir Rafe Grey, for the exercise of the wardenrie of the Est

Marches, per diem - - - - - xs.

iiijli. xs.

For the intreteynement of 20 horsemen, every of them at 12d.

per diem - - - - - xxs.

vijli.

Summe totall

xxiiijli.

No. IV.

Remembrances for the better executing of the Office of the Wardenrie, &c.

To appoynt som day and place where I may assemble, and mete with the gentilmen of this countrey, to devise with them for the better stay, rule, and order of the same.

To take order with them for musters to be had within both wardenries, to thintent it may be perfutely knowen what number of able horsemen there is within the same, armed, and also what number of fote men, aswell armed as unarmed.

To lerne what marche traitours and felons be within the ij^o wardenries.

To devise that the watches may be kept for the better stay, and avoyding of such stelth and disorder as is daylie commytted.

To devise where it shalbe most expedyent for the deputie wardens to lye for the better execucion of their officis.

To take order that every gentilman within these marches shall answer for his tenaunts and servaunts, and bring them to their tryall, in cases of felonye and march treason, according to the lawes of the realme.

No. V.

A devise for the establishing of the 3 Marches of England foranempst Scotland.

The capten or governour of Barwick, to be also warden of thest marches; for that one man having the rule of bothe, maye at all tymes call the power of the countrey into the towne for the more strength of the same, and also maye, in lykewise, relieve the countrey with the

garrison of the towne at all tymes, as the case shall requyer, whiche wool not be so well doon, ne considered, if there be twoo officers, for that either of them wool have no further respect, then to his owne chardge.

The saide capten or governor of Barwick, to have in garrison xv^c (1500) soldiours during the fortifications, except occasion of warre shall requyer a greater nombre, and when the woorks be fynished, a thousand besids tholde garrison wooll be sufficient.

A marshall, a treasurer, and a comptroller, to be men of counsaile in Barwick.

The warden of the middle marches to lye at Harbottell* in the tyme of warres, and to have the accustomed fee for his entreteignement, besids the profette of the demeanes of Harbottell for keping of his howse; and also the office of Hexamsheire, † with the accustomed fees of Tyn-dale and Ryddesdale.

The capten of Norham to be resident uppon his office, as hathe been hertofore accustomed, for the better staye of the countrey.

Sir Rafe Grey to kepe his howse at Warke, according to his conve-nants, and in the warre tyme to have assistance of the quenes power, to lye there in garrison as hathe been accustomed.

The warden of the west marches, to be also capitain of Carlisle, ‡ and to have the accustomed enterteignement for the same.

The iij wardens beyng established, there shall be the lesse nede of a lorde warden generall, forasmuche as always in the warre tyme, the prince useth to make a lieutenant there, to governe the countrey. Ne-vertheles, if a noble man well qualefied were chosen and appoynted to

* Harbottle castle, on the banks of the Coquet, anciently held by the Umphravilles, barons of Prudhow, for the service of freeing Reedesdale of wolves, and of Border thieves, the more ravenous animal of the two. This castle and its demesne were in the crown in the 10th of Queen Elizabeth.

† Hexham, though a part of Northumberland, was the chief town of a small liberty, called Hexhamshire, which claimed anciently the privileges of a county.

‡ Both offices were long united in the person of Lord Scroope of Bolton.

reside alwayes in the northe parts, and to have suche a porcion of the revenues of the bishoprick of Dureham, as shulde be hable to maynteyn his estate, he myght have the principall care of all the marches, and also myght supplie the place of the president of the counsaile in the northe, whereby the chardge therof myght be abated. And bicause the prince maye alwayes chose a noble man mete for that service, it were expedient that no man shulde enioye that office lenger then he shulde well use it, withoute having any inheritance in the same.

It were mete, also, that ij or iij godlie and well learned men, shulde have convenient interteignment, either by yerlie stipend, or by sume spirituall promotions of the saide bishoprick, to preache and teache the woorde of God, for the better instruction of the ignorant people, which is a thing most nedefull and necessarie in the northe parts, and speciallie in the towne of Barwick, where it were to be wisshed that one of the saide preachers shulde be placed.

The residue of the revenues of the saide bishoprick maye be applyed towards the chardges of the newe crew in Barwick, and of the wardenries, as farre as it wool extend.

No. VI.

A devise fore Norham and Harbottell, with certain articles to be inquyered of, &c.

REMEMBRANCES.

1. The castell of Norhame is the moste convenient place of service for the warden of theste marche to lye at, havinge thereunto anexet all that the holle revennewes pertenyng, and belonginge to the saide castell, withe in Elande shiere and Norhame shiere, as it came to the handes of the laite bishoppe of Duresme, withe the yerlie fee of one pounce by yere.

2. The castell of Harbottell is moste convenyent place of service for the warden of the meddell marches to lye at, for the orderinge of the towe mesdemenede contries of Tendall and Reddesdal, whiche pertene bothe to that marche. The saide castell and contry of Reddesdall, was, as it is saide, the lorde Talbusses * inheretance, and geven the prince in exchaunge, for that it was so meat a house for the service, bothe for the reulinge of the towe evill countries Tendall and Reddesdall in the time of peace; and the moste metteste place for the anoyeauce of thennyme in the tyme of warres. Sir William Everye, † who was a mane of worshippe, served there, and had the rewell of those towe countries in the tyme of kinge Henry the Eight. The wante of a man of service to lie there, is on of the greateste decayes to the service, that maie be upon the saide meddell marches. If the parsonaige of Rothebery, beinge thre myles dstant, ware anexede unto the saide castill of Harbottell, whiche is presently in the handes of one of the prebendaries of Duresme, with the yerly fee of cc^e (200l.) by yere, withe this husbandry, the quenes majestie shulde spare xij^e (1200l.) markes by yere, which is presently geven to the wardenes of treste and meddell marches, and this don, hire highnes shall bothe be better servyde, offenders ponysshede, and the contry defendyde from the spoill of thennyme.

3. To inquire, howe often, or at what tymes my lord haithe callede the gentalmen of this contrey of Northumberland, with in his rewel of theste and meddell marches before his lordshippe, to instructe them there deutes in the service of their prynee, or otherwise to be in readynes for the advoyding of any sodden attempttate that might be offerede

* The Tailboys family succeeded to the Umphravilles by inheritance. Sir William Tailboys forfeited Harbottle castle, with his other property, by attainder, in the 3d of King Edward IV., after the battle of Hexham. Perhaps the family was restored after the accession of Henry VII., and the castle may have again come to the crown in the manner mentioned in the text.

† Sir William Evre was in 1539 governor of Berwick, and in 1542 commanded the northern forces. In 1544 he was created Lord Evre, and held the wardenry of the east marches.

by thennymes. Ande to knowe what godlye moshones his lordship haithe made at eny tyme, to bringe them in love end obedyence, accordinge to there deuties, friste towards Gode, and then to there prince.

4. To inquire, if there be any of the inhabitours within the wardoures of thest and middell marches, that payde rent, or corne, in the tyme of the laste wares, or nowe sence the pece to eny the inhabitants of Scotland or no. *

Or if eny of the inhabitants of Northumberland dide paye eny rent, ether in money, or corne, to eny of the mesdemenyde persones of Tendall or Reddesdall; to calle for the names of suche persones as paide suche rent, and suche licke for them that resavyde it. For the licke presydent was never harde of in this country before.

5. To inquire, upone the lorde warden, whate number of able horsemen, furnysshede with harnes and wappons, readie to serve upon the sudden, are withe in the wardoures of theste and meddell marches. And what nomberes of able men withe out horse, havinge armore and wappon. And whet number of able men in personnes wantinge bothe armore and wappon. Herebye you shall understand the staite of bothe theste and meddell marches.

6. To inquire, what marche tratours ande fellones are within the saide towe wardoures of thest and meddell marches, and to knowe what execucion haithe bene don upon suche offendours senthenes my lordes entrye to the said offices.

7. To inquire, whether the captains dide kepe there garrysones furnyshed with there full nomberes, withe in his lordships reule of the saide este and meddell marches or not. Ande whether the captens have paide there soildgiors the holle entertenment that was alowed by the quenes majestie or no; and whether his lordshippe haithe sene

* This rent paid to freebooters for protection, or forbearance, was known in Scotland by the name of Black Mail.

the holle nombres brought to the service in the fealde at all tymes or not.

8. To inquire, what spoylles haith bene comettyt by thennymes of Scotlande, withe in theste ande meddell marches of England; and what explotes commet and don to the realme of Scotlande, by the mesdemenyde persons of this realme, particlerly sence his lordships entry to the saide office; whereby the stayte of bothe the bordours maie be treuly understande.

9. To inquire, whether the wache be put in execution as it was promysse to the byshoppe of Ellye, and the master of the Rowles, beinge commysioners in theist parties, and to shewe the cause where in the defalte is, that the same is not put in execution accordingle. The wante of the same wache is the occasion of moche stoulthe and desordour; for be it was when the same was observed and kepet.

10. To inquire, at what places the deputye wardens are resydent at, and what men of service or knowleige thair are.

11. To inquire, whether the officers of Tendall and Reddesdall, have, at any tyme, taken eny of thenhabitours goodes, within the saide mesdemened contryes, for suspece of felony, or otherwise for marche mattours. Ande dothe deteane the saide goodes to there owne proper use and commodyte, the offendours makinge no aunswer to the parties complenante, accordinge to the order of the quenes majesties lawes in that behalfe; the corruptnese of suche officeres, in the detenyng of suche goodes, is the occasion of great disorder of the saide marches, for that povertie constreanethe the saide offendours, frome whome the officeres of those contryese haith taken suche goodes, and the lawes not beinge executyt upon suche transgressours, the same is ane incoragement to those noughtie mesdemenede personnes of the forsaide contryes of Tendall and Reddesdall, to robbe and spoyll the trew inhabitours of Northumberland, the reformacion whereof is most nedful to be lowcked for.

12. To inquire, whether there be any of thenhabitours of Northum-

berland, within thest and meddell marches, that haithe hade their goods stolne by eny of the inhabitours of Tendall or Reddesdall, ande taken the same agayne, contrary the lawes of this realme, whereby the fellow is not followed. To present the names, bothe of the stellers, and suche as receyvde the saide goods agayne.

13. That every gentelman dwellinge within this countie of Northumberland, within thest and meddell marches, shall answer for suche as dwell upon their lands. Ande if eny maie have cause of complaunte agaynst eny gentelmanes tennant, or servande, for suspecte of felony; then the saide gentlemen to bringe in his saide tennant or servand, so compleanede upon, to aunswer the same at the next assies, holden within the saide countie. And for marche tresson, to bringe him to the next warden courte, that shalbe appountyt within the forsaide countye. And if the saide gentlemen do not breng in the same, his tennant or servande, then some strate ponyshement to be devysed for the said gentelman in the example of otheres.

No. VI.

*Gentelmen dwellyng wythin the Est marches of England.
Brambro shyer.*

Sir Raph Gray of Chelygham,	Sir Thomas Gray of Horton,
Sir Robert Elddecare of Hulle,	Sir Jhon Foster of Alnewyke
Thomas Foster of Ederston,	Abbey,
Jhon Horsley of Olchester,	Thomas Bradford of Bradford,
Jhon Care of Bulmer,	George Care of Lefflee,
Thomas Hering of Howeke,	Thomas Rodam of Lytell Hawgh-
Edward Bradford of Emletoune,	tone,
Roland Bradford of Faladone,	Jhon Bradford of Togell,
Thomas French of Elyngham,	Necolas Foster of Newam,
Henry Fweno of Mousesfend,	

Brambro shyer.

Robert Hoppene of Hoppene,	Robert Whytwham of Detchburne,
Francys Armere of Belford,	Richard Care of Elwyke,
Welyam Maners of Neutowne,	Robert Lausone of Roke,

Clendale.

Thomas Heburne of Heburne,	Thomas Holburne of Holburne,
Roland Foster of Hezelryg,	Thomas Elderton of Elderton,
Oswald Musteans of Ham Hall,	Welyam Strother of Neuton,
Tho. Rotherford of Medelton Hall,	Henrye Ryvelay of Chutton,
Jhon Care of Ford,	Robert Collyngwood of Etell,
George Musteans of Barmor,	Welyam Selbe of Pavstone.

Norham and Joland shyer.

Gylbert Swene of Goswyk,	Thomas Gray of Elwyke,
Jhon Ryveley of Berengtone,	Raph Gray of Hetowne,
Welyam Selbe of Grendone Rype,	George Orde of Neubegeng.
Edward Revelay of Ancroft.	

No. VII.

The names of the Townes within the Est Marches.

Norham, Horklee, Twesill, Tilmouth, Heton, Etyll, Forde, Dudagh, Barmer, Lowyk, Bosden, Felkynton, Grendon, Shoreswode, Thorne-ton, Orde, Twedemouth, Skrymerston, Cheswick, Goswyck, Beile, Fenham, Holie Islande, Fenwick, Kylagh, Lowelyn, Berington, Ancroft.

No. VIII.

The names of the Erles in Scotland.

Therle of Angush, Duglas	Therle Marshall
Therle of Huntley, Gordon	Therle of Crauforde, Craufurde
Therle of Arrayn, Hamylton	Therle of Sutherland, Gordon
Therle of Argile, Cambell	Therle of Catnes,
Therle Bothwell, Hebburn	Therle of Cessils, Kenedie
Therle Morton, Douglas	Therle of Eglington, Montgomery
Therle of Glencarn, Conyngham	Therle of Lenox, Stewarde
Therle of Mountross, Grayme	Therle Murray, Stewarde
Therle of Athol, Steward	Therle of Arrell, Hay
Therle of Rothers, Leslie.	

No. IX.

A Scedule in what Townes the Footemen be to be placed.

Norham	-	cc	Bowyk	-	c	Beill
Warke	-	c	Agarston	-	c	Fenwick
Etill	}		Skremerson	}		Beryngton
Forde	}	-	Cheslewick	}	cc	Hornecke
Fenton	-	c	Holy Islande	-		Orde
Lowick	}		Buckton	-	c	Twesill
Barmer	}	-	Fenham	}		Tilmouth
Chatton	}		Goswick	}	-	Woller - c
Chillingham	}	cc	Cornehill	-		Westlilborn - c
Horton	-	c				

In the same list, are the following names, probably of Sir Ralph Sadlers horses.

Grey Crost, Grey Somerset, Grey Forster, Bay Forster, the Balde Nag, the Herryet, Grey Starkey, Bay Reynolde, Grey Palmer, Lyarde Grey, Bay Markeham, Bay Bowes.

No. X.

The entreteynment of the East and Mydle of England for the Warden and his Officers.

The mydle marches.

The lord wardens fee, per ann. at v ^c marks.	}	iii ^c xxxiiij ^{li} vi ^s viiiij ^d .
Twoo deputie wardens, per ann. at xx ^{li} .		
Twoo land serveaunts, per ann. iiiij ^{li} .		

The east marches.

The lord wardens fee, per ann. at vij ^c marks.	}	iiij ^c iiij ^{xx} vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d .
Twoo deputie wardens, per ann. at xx ^{li} .		
Twoo land serveaunts, per ann. at iiiij ^{li} .		

Thoffice of Ryddesdall per annum, at xxvi^{li} xiiij^r iiij^d.

Thoffice of Tyndall, per annum at Hexham.

The steward, per annum, at	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
The receyvour, per annum, at	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
The baylief, per annum, at	xiiij ^{li}	vj ^s	viiij ^d
The gaylour, per annum, at	xxvj ^s		viiij ^d
Twoo sergeaunts, per annum, at	xxvj ^s		viiij ^d
The woodward, per annum, at	xiiij ^s		iiij ^d

Sum total at xxx^{li}

No. XI.

The particlers of Lowhall, otherwise called Walthamstow Frauncys.

Lowhall hathe belongyng to yt these parcells of lande, as followeth:—

First, the towe close leeses callyd Butchers Marse, conteynyng by estymacyon lxx acres, or ther abought.

Letten to farme unto the goodman of the sygne of the Swane, at Mylkestrete corner, for xxiiij^{li} by the yere.

Also, letten to Bramley and Peperd, butchers of Saynct Nycolas shambles, for lyk pryce for one yere.

xviiij acres of medow in the comen meade, letten at x^s the acre, ix^{li}.

xiiij acres, or ther aboughts, in tow lyttell close lesses, letten to tow pooremen of Wolthamstow for one yere, at v^{li}.

Busshe marshe conteyneth by estymacion, l acres and more.

Annother lyttell close, conteyneth a bought vj acres lying by southe Bussh marshe.

Annother lytell close, conteynyng by estymacion, tow acres.

A close of herable lande, conteynyng xij acres, or ther abought.

Annother lyttell pece of grounde by north the house, conteynyng tow acres by estymacion.

All these closes, with the howse, and barne, and stable, and twelve acres of mede in the comen marsh, the tennant that dyd dwell on the same, payd me xxij^{li} by the yere, his name was Sparowe.

Ther belongeth to the sayd Lowhall, a fyld, callyd Hernes marshe, which, I never had, conteynyng by estymacion, xl acres or more.

Ther ys moore land in sertyn mennes hands of Walthamstow, that dyd belonge unto Lowhall, I know not how moch, nether who they ar that had yt.

To kepe these groundes drye and to imploy them to most proffett.

Fyrst, skore the tow great dyches that goeth alonge in the lane, frome the howse to the ryver warde.

Then cause all the dyches on the north syde of Buttchers marse to be skowreyd, that the watter may come into the foresayd dicke of the longe lane, and so in to the ryver.

Cause the tennants of Walthamstow to skowre ther dyches on the north west syde of the Butchers marshe.

Also you must stubbe and stock Bussh marshe, and Butchers marshe, and make good medow of them, for Bussh marsh, was at my beyng ther, clene over growen with thornes.

No. XII.

The complaynte of ISABELL WETHERET, widowe, against EDWARD BRANDFORTH of Emiltoun. To the Right Honourable Lorde SADDLER, Lorde Warden of Theste and Mydle Marches of England, for anempst Scotland.

In moste humble maner, shewethe and complenethe unto your good lordship, your dayly oratrixe, Isabell Wetheret, wedo, late wyff of John Wetheret of Bassendon, yeomen.. That where as there was mater in controverse betwixte your saide oratrixe, and one Roberte Wetheret of the said Bassendon, for, and concerning thoccupacion of on tenemente in the said Bassendon, and certen goods which were the said John Wetheretts, late husbände to your said oratrixe, and the same mater being brought in open plein courte, before the right honourable erle of Northumberland; it was ordryd that your said oratrixe shoulde have the occupacion of the saide tenemente, together with certen goods conteignyng in an inventorye, (as by the said order, redy to be shewyd,) it dothe, and may appere. So it is, good lordship, that one Edward

Braideforthe of Emilton, baillyf of the libertie there, haith ye said honorable erles warrante, for to possesse your said oratrixe in the saide tenement; which, notwithstanding, he will in no wyse performe or accomplish unto suche tyme he knowe your lordships pleasure in the same, and so your said oratrixe is withoute remedy, and lyke to be withoute your lordships favorete beswyd; in consyderation whereof, it may please your honor, in way of justice, to cause the said Edward make answer to the promisse, and to minister justice, as to equite apperteignethe, and she shall pray, &c.

No. XIII.

The Supplication of Wydowe FENWYCK against OSWALD FENWICK and THOMAS HUNTLEY. To the Right Honorable Sir RAUFFE SADDER, Knyght, Warden of the Theste and Medle Marches of England, for anenste Scotlande.

Moste humbly complayneth unto your honer, your dayly oratryx, wedowe Fennycke, late wyf of Dennys Fennycke, dwellinge in the towne of Wuller, within the county of Northumberland; that wheras your said oratryxe did complayn laytly unto your honor, upon Oswalde Fennycke and Thomas Huntley, for steling of thre kye out of your said oratrixe house, within the said town of Wuller, so it his that John Huntley, Edmonde Huntley, James Scote, and John Lawson, was at the steling of the same thre kye, which your said oratryxe durste not complayne of beffore, for feare of ther displeasure, beinge her neighboures, and John Scote of the said town of Wuller, did resave the said kye, and helpe to dryve them out of the town, and beares so with the stellers, that your power oratryxe can get no redresse for the same. In considyracion, wherof, it may please your honour of your honourable goodnes to be a meane, wherby your power oratryxe maye have ius-

tis herein, and your said oratryxe, as she his dayly bound, shall praye unto Almighty God, for your prosperous honour longe to endure.

No. XIV.

*The complainte of JOHN GILRIE against WILLIAM ARCHER of Bolton.
To the Right Honourable Sir RAPHE SADLER, Lorde Wardinge of the
Este March, for anempst Scotland.*

Complaynynge, sheweth unto your lordshippe, your poure orataur and daylye beadman, John of Gylrie, that where as your said orator hathe bargayned for the some of iiij^{li} vj^s viii^d with one William Archer of Bolton, in the countye of Nortumberland, yeomen, for twentye bowles of beathe, (otherwise called barley,) to be delyvered immediately after there bargayne made, whiche was at Mychelmas laste paste; and your said orator had day geven for the pamente therof, unto the tenth day, before Wytsndaye next comynge, of the whiche corne your said orator haid alredeye receyved ten bowles, and hathe divers tymes sence bene at the said Willam Archers, for to demaunde delyverye of the other ten bowles, whiche to doo, hee utterlye denyethe. And at your said oratars laste beinge there with his horses, for to receyve the said tenth bowles, one Raphe Collingewodde, by the meanes of the said William Archer, hathe arreasted your said orators horses, and them with holdethe from your said orator, for the payment of the said ten bowles receyved by your said orator. And in nowyse wyll delyver your said orator his horses, (without he fynd suertes to paye immediately for the said ten bowles receyved for the payment whereof he hathe day as ys abovesaid for the hole,) agaynste all right equitye and good concyence, and to the utter undoinge of your said orator, unles your lordship moved with petye, take some order herin. Therefore may yt pleas your good lordship, to directe your lettres unto the said William Archer and Raphe Collingewodde, not onelye to delyver

your said orator his horses, but also to appeare before your lordship to answher the premysses. Thus for the love of Gode, and in the waye of petye, and your said orator shall daylye pray for the preservacion of your lordship longe to endure in honour.

No. XV.

Certen interrogatories to be ministered to Richard Riveley.

To call for Richard Riveley of Ancroft, and to inquier of him where he was that nyght that Robert Dawsons 7 oxen was taken oute of Skirmerston. To knowe, also, where he was a Saterdaye at nyght last, viz. the 16 of December, and what companey he was with.

If he saye he was at home, then let it be inquyred why he cam not to the fraye that was at Cheswick, when Raphe Smythes geare was taken awaye by the Scotts, if he answer that he harde it not, that cannot be trew, for there cam 20 men after the Scotts shutting overwhart Ancroft moore, and they harde the watches of Ancroft speake, so as he must neds heare it also.

Lyllico the thefe

Law

Gray the baylif of Dodington

Wilkinson.

No. XVI.

*The abatement of every Captains enterteynement here, sithens the 2 of
Maye, as also their supplicacion.*

Wher by the last casement at the second of Maye, ther was abated
of every capitaines interteynment, as followeth:

Capt. Somerset.	First, of his owne wages per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His lyftenant per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One sarjent per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One drome and three phiffes, a prieste and a surgeon, at xij ^d per diem the pece	} -	vj ^s
Capt. Vaughan.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	v ^s iiij ^d
	His lyeftenant per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One serjent per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	A priest, one drome, three phyffes, a clerke, and a surgion, either of them at xij ^d der diem	} -	vj ^s
Capt. Drury.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His leiftenante per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One serjent per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One drome, three phyffes, a preist, and a surgion, at xij ^d per diem, the pece	} -	vj ^s
Capt. Reide.	First of his owne wagis per diem	-	iiij ^s
	His lieftenante per diem	- - -	ij ^s
	His enseigne per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One sarjent per diem	- - -	xij ^d
	One drome, three phiffes, a priest, and a surgion, at xij ^d per diem the pece	} -	vj ^s

And all other capiteines are lykewise abated accordinge to their numbers; and yet, neverthelesse, for the better performance of their duty, and great desyer they have to serve the quenes majesty, both presently, and in tyme to come, as nede shall require; they have bynne dryven out of their own wagis to contynew the enterteynement, not only of all those their said officers so latelie cassed at lyke rate as they were before, but also for thentent and purpose abovesaide, they have receaved all soch officers and best furnyshed souldiers of all other bandes cassed, as well of the towne as countrey. And for that the said capiteins arr by reason therof so impoverished, that they canne no longer contynew the same. It may please you, therfore, knowing the premysses to be true, to make petition to the lordes of the quenes majesties most honorable counsell for some allowaunce above thordenary, to soch numbre of the said officers and best soldyers, as to their wisdom shall seeme convenyent. Otherwise the saide capiteins shalbe dryven at this next paie to eyse their own borden, by the discharge of all those men. 1559.

LETTERS

DURING

THE GREAT NORTHERN INSURRECTION,

1569-70.

Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, were, with others of the English nobility, deeply involved in the intrigue for marrying Mary Queen of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk. When Elizabeth was apprised of this design, the Duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower, and a summons was sent to the two Northern Earls to appear at court. Whether they distrusted Elizabeth's good faith, or conceived that the present was a fit opportunity for setting her rival at liberty, and re-establishing the Catholic faith, is difficult to be decided. But it is certain, that the Earl of Northumberland fled precipitately from his house of Topcliffe, in Yorkshire, to Brancepeth, where he found Westmoreland surrounded with vassals and allies, and ready to take arms. Insurrection being determined upon, the popularity of these Barons soon assembled a considerable force, with which they marched to Durham, where they celebrated mass in the cathedral, and destroyed the Bible and books of the reformed liturgy. Thence they advanced nearly as far as Weatherley, but turned back on learning that sir George Bowes was assembling his vassals in their rear. They besieged this Baron in the fortress of Bernard Castle, which they compelled to surrender upon terms : but in the mean time the country rose against them in every quarter, and the earl of Sussex advanced northward, with an army of seven thousand men, supported by a yet stronger host, commanded by the most experienced of Queen Elizabeth's generals. Upon receiving this intelligence, the insurgent barons retreated in great disorder to Hexham, where their tumultuary army, whom they had neither means to feed nor to pay, dissolved entirely. The earls fled to Naworth Castle, then held by Leonard Dacre, uncle of the last lord Dacre, who was involved in their ill-concerted rebellion. The earl of Warwick and lord Hunsdon, marching against them with a force of twelve thousand men, drove them from this last place of refuge, and Westmoreland and Northumberland, with few followers, fled into Scotland by different routs : the former was protected by the laird of Fairnihirst, and at length escaped to Flanders ; but Northumberland, less fortunate, fell into the power of the regent Murray, by whom he was imprisoned in Lochlevin castle, where he remained until 1572, when the regent Morton delivered him up to lord Hunsdon. He was beheaded at York in the same year.

During this insurrection sir Ralph Sadler acted as treasurer, or paymaster-general of the army, which marched against the earls, under the command of the earl of Sussex.

LETTERS

DURING

THE GREAT NORTHERN INSURRECTION, 1569-70.

No. I.

*To our trusty and right well beloved Counsellor Sir RAPH SADLER,
Knight, Chauncellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

ELIZABETH R.

By the Queene.

Trusty and right well beloved counsellor, we grete you well. By our lettres to our cosin of Sussex, we have signified the cawses of the sending thither of our cosin the erle of Rutland,* whose desire to serve us in the beginning of this his yowth, we cannot but much allowe. And considering he is by order of the lawe in our tuition, we have the more care that he shuld be well ordered and advised. And being now upon this occasion absēt from the master of our wards, by whom he hath ben very willingly directed, we have made choice of you to take

* Edward Manners, third earl of Rutland, who succeeded his father in 1563, and being a minor was now a ward of the crown. It is pleasing to see the attention paid by Elizabeth and her ministers to the education of this young nobleman. Neither was their care thrown away, for Camden pronounces him to have been a profound lawyer, and a man accomplished with all polite learning. The queen had thoughts of promoting him to the office of Chancellor, when he was cut off by a premature death, in 1587, at the age of thirty; so that in 1569-70, he could only be about thirteen years old.

the care of him, prayeng you to have regard to his well doing, and to direct him in all things that shalbe for our service, or for the weale of him self; for so we have directed him to do, and we dowte not but he will performe it, and shew himself gratefull to you, for your advise which you shall give him. Geven under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 20th of November, 1569, in the twelveth yere of our reigne.

No. II.

From Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLER. To the right honorable Sir RAFF SADLER, Knight, Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the Quenes Majesties Privy Counsell.

SIR,

In my bedd I doo scribe as you may see, and therfor am forced to wryte shortly and rudly. You shall perceave by the quenes majesty's letters, both to my lord of Sussex and to your self, the cause of my lord of Rutlands comming. I pray you the rather for my sake, be tendre and carefull over hym, and I know he will be advised by you. I have delyvered hym some monny in his purse, and if he shall nede any thyng, I will see his chardgis satisfyed. I thynk it good that he had the chardg of his tenants to serve under him, having some ther that can guyde them well. He shall therby norrish his corradg, and his tenants shall the more esteme him. I am sure he will be faythfull and loyall. I pray you, sir, admonish hym if you see hym negligent of resort to comon prayor. I have commanded my sonne to attend hym, whom I am very willyng shuld be employed in any service, that he can, for the quenes majesty and his cuntrye; and in lyke manner I beseche you challendg hym as you wold your owne, for thyngs nedefull in youth to be reformed. From Wyndsor, in my bed, 20 Novembre, 1569.

Yours at commaund,

W. CECILL.

No. III.

From my Lord of BEDFORD to the right honorable my verie good friend
Sir RAUFE SADLEYR, Knight, one of the Quenes Majestys Privie
Counsaile, Chauncellor of her Duchie of Lancaster.*

After my harte commendacions. This gentleman, captein Strelley, hathe undertaken to go to Branspeth,† or other like places, where the quenes majesties ennemies are now, as you hear, assembled, and to discover as moche as he maye, their doings and devises, and thereof to make reporte to her majestie, for the which purpose, it is her majesties pleasure that he should be addressed unto you for advise and direction in this enterprise, and not to my lord of Sussex to have any dealing or conference with him touching the same. And therefore her majestie hath willed me by thes my letters to directe him unto you, as a person whom she conceyveth very well of, and not unlike to atchieve this his purpose. In hope wherof she hath promised him, (and in respecte of his long and faithfull service don unto her,) a suite which he hath bene a long suyter for. And I have, by her majesties order, gyven him some money to beare his charges in some parte towards this matter. And you shall also do verie well upon the performance of this his promised attempt, not onely to graunt him your warrante for post horses backe agayne to the corte, or otherwise as you shall see cause for his better expedicion, and also your letter to her majestie with him, to testifie his doings, and therewithall some fewe goode and favourable words on his behalfe, the better to encourage her majestie to stande his good

* Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford. This nobleman held many important offices during the reign of Elizabeth. He was governor of Berwick, and warden of the East Marches, during the Scottish civil wars, chief justice in Eyre of the forests south of the Trent, and lieutenant of the counties of Cornwall, Devon, and Dorset. He died in 1585.

† The castle of the earl of Westmoreland, at which the insurgent earls made their first levy.

lady. And that this message is true, you shall understand by this token, that when you were going to horseback, I came downe from the quenes majestie to you about this matter. And so wysshing you helth and good successe in all your affaires with my hartie thanks shall committ you to God, having as yet no newes from thence, but that the enemyes have made their proclamations for assembly of people. And thus eftsones I committ you to God. From the corte, at Wyndsor, this 21st of November, 1569.

Your assured friende,

J. BEDFORD.

You shall, also, do verie well of suche treasure as you have of her majestie in your hands, to gyve him towards his charges to come up fyve poundes, or twenty nobles.

No. IV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to the Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

After my departure from the courte, I used my iourney so, as I might well have been with my lord of Sussex this mornyng by viij of the clock, if the passage had been fre, but meting with Bynks the messenger at Stamforde on Monday night, he told me that the rebells kept the waye bytween Doncaster and York,* so as I coulde not passe that waye. And arryving here yesterday at ix of the clock in the mornyng, I had the same confermed, and that my lord of Hunsden † re-

* This seems to have been a mistake; yet, though the earl's main body never advanced beyond Clifford moor, near Weatherby, their advanced guard took possession of Weatherby, and dispersed some levies which were marching to join the earl of Sussex at York. See Stow.

† This was sir Henry Carey, created by queen Elizabeth baron Hunsdon. He was her nearest relation, being the son of her mother's sister. Naunton describes this old baron as

toured from Doncaster, and was with my lord Willoughby* at his house of Kneth, abouts xvi myles hens, whereupon I sent thither to know the trewth, and had answer from my lord Willoughby, that my saide lord of Hunsden toke bote yesterday in the mornynge, to passe over Humber to Hull, intending to remayn there, untill he might here from my lord of Sussex, whether he might safely repaire unto him, and that the waye and passage between Hull and Yorke were open and free. After this, one of my men whom I had sent before to ley my post horses, retourned to me from Doncaster, and tolde me, that the rebells did in dede lye at Sherborn and at Tadcaster, so as I coulde in no wyse passe that way to Yorke, wherefore I mynde to folowe my lord of Hunsden over the Humber, and so as I may to Yorke with all the spede I can make, God willinge. My saide servaunt told me, also, that my lorde Darcy lieth at Doncaster with and wolde gladly go to my lord of Sussex, but can not, by reson that the rebells lye in his waye, and also that sir Tho. Gargrave† lyeth in Pomfret castell, who, by lyke meanes, is kept from my saide lorde of Sussex. Mr Ed-

of an honest, stout heart, and rough manners; one who, as he lived in a rufing time, loved sword and buckler men, such as our fathers were wont to call tall men of their hands, of which he had a numerous attendance. Yet he was not deemed popularly ambitious, and queen Elizabeth entrusted her person to his charge in the camp at Tilbury. Lord Hunsdon was, after this northern expedition, made governor of Berwick, and afterwards lord chamberlain. When he was on his death-bed, the queen honoured him with a visit, and began to enumerate the favours she had designed him; to which he answered, that as he had not been thought worthy of them by her when in health, he did not now esteem himself worthy of them when he could no longer serve her.

* Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby, was, says Naunton, one of the queen's first swordsmen: he was of the ancient extraction of the Berties, but more ennobled by his mother, who was duchess of Suffolk. Lord Willoughby distinguished himself in the Low Country wars, where he was general of the English after the recal of Leicester; and, in 1589, commanded the auxiliary army sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France. He might have risen high as a courtier, but was wont to say (and Naunton observes it did him no good,) that he was none of the *reptilia*; he therefore preferred a life of retirement, and died in 1601.

† Sir Thomas Gargrave of Wakefield, knighted by the earl of Warwick in 1547, during the Scottish wars; he was a member of the council of the north, and at one time president; and had great influence in Yorkshire, from the extent of his property.

warde Cary* who overtoke me yesterday by reason of my stay here, is even now gon hense towards Doncaster, intending to levie as many men as he can, within his rule of Wakefield, and so to ioyn with my saide lorde Darcy, † not onely to kepe the towne of Doncaster, but also to do further as he shall see cause to annoy the rebels, whereunto I see he lacketh neyther good will nor good stomacke, but I have given him myn advise to have good regarde not to hazarde over moche without some advauntage ; also, my saide servaunte told me, that the rebels ar abouts the number of iij m. (3000,) whereof vij^c (700) horsemen, of the which, I here say, there be iiij or v^c (4 or 500) of the L. theves and outlawes of Tyndayle, Riddesdale, and also of Tividale, both English and Scottish theves together, and the residue of the saide iij m. ar fotemen: the horesmen, as he hereth, are well appoynted, but the fotemen ar for the most parte unarmed, and a number of them very raskalls, such as by force and synister meanes, the hedds of the rebels have drawen unto them. This my man telleth me, but what my lord of Sussex doth or intendeth, I can not here more then Bynks told me, when I mette him at Stamforde, which I am sure he hath also declared unto you. The xxij of November, 1569.

* A son of lord Hunsdon.

† John lord Darcy was grandson, or great grandson, (compare Dugdale and Collins,) to Thomas lord Darcy, who was executed 30 Henry VIII. for his share in the insurrection called The Pilgrimage of Grace. The duke of Leeds represents this family, which has always held very extended influence, from property and connections in Yorkshire. The lord Darcy here mentioned died in 1575.

No. V.

To the Right Honorable Sir RAFF SADLEER, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the Quenes Majesties Privy Counsell; from Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I thought good to signify unto you of the safe arrivall of your last letters written at Gaynsborough, and also of the former written at Newark, whereof the counsell have been privy, being sorry of the occasion of the alteration of your waye. We dowte therle of Sussex letters have ben intercepted, because we have not hard from him a good while. We have hard from Sir George Bowes by a servaunt of the lord Scropes, who was the 20th of this moneth at Barney castle, * with the said sir Georg, who had good power of horsemen and footemen redy to come forward to the erle of Sussex, when he should have commandement. Having not the said 20th receaved any thing from the said erle, gessing therby that therles letters and sir Georg's have ben likewise intercepted. It is here alredy concluded, that therle of Warwick and the lord admirall † shall have a joynt commission of lieutenancy of

* Barnard Castle, in the bishopric of Durham, at this time belonged to the earl of Westmoreland. It was formerly vested in the Beauchamps of Warwick, and Staffords of Buckingham, and probably came to the Nevils by marriage with the latter, but sir George Bowes had seized upon it on the breaking out of the rebellion. The Bowes's seat of Sheatlam is only two miles from Barnard Castle, and they held great property immediately adjoining, and in the town itself, (*Temp. Jac. I.*) When it was in contemplation to make Barnard Castle a borough town, it was said that the Bowes family could procure the return against all court letters. Barnard Castle was part of the forfeiture to the crown, and remained in it till sold out, or leased to Carr, earl of Somerset, and after to sir Henry Vane.

Sir George Bowes had a lease of the demesne lands of the crown in Barnard Castle, dated 11th Eliz. renewed in 1580. This will, perhaps, prove to have been a little antedated, and granted after the forfeiture of Westmoreland.

† Lord Clinton.

all the army that shall come out of the south against these rebels, and for that purpose, the nombres for therle of Warwik are appointed to be at Leicester, whitherwards the said erle went yesterday, accompanied with a great number of gentlemen of service from hence. The army is like to be great, but I could have ben content that one thousand horsmen had ben furthwith expedited, according to our opinion, for that the suppression of this rebellion lieth in celerity. Yesterday the quene of Scotts was removed from Tutbery to Ashby,* and we make assured accompt she shalbe in Coventry this night, conducted by the erles of Shrewsbury and Huntingdom.

I dowte not but you will use all the good meannes you can to procure us advertisement from you, which may be there devised by you there, then here by us.

The quenes majestie hath ordered that therles with the rest shalbe proclaymed rebels here to morrow, and the lik to be don through the realme. I trust my lord of Rutland wilbe with you before these letters, whom I pray you suffer not to venter his parson in any vayne enterprise; for the speciall purpose of sending him downe, was, that his name and estimation might be used to allure his tenants and others to service, then to be employed in any corporall service himself, although I know he will spare none to shew his duty.

† Thus far was wrytten yesterdaye.

This morning came your letters from Barton, by which you signified the reports made to you by Mr Roan; I trust at your coming to Hull, you shall fynd more certenty.

My lord admirall will be in the feld with spede.

My lord Darcy shall have ayde from my lord admyrrall to gard Doncastre, and so shall he have from Nothyngamshire, which is or-

* Ashby de la Zouche in Leicestershire, where there are the remains of a magnificent castle, built by lord Hastings, the faithful adherent of Edward IV.

† The remaining part of the letter is in Cecill's own hand writing.

dered by letters sent away this for noone. The quenes majesty shall have an army here about hir person of xv m. men by the 10 of December. Whereof my lord of Pembroke shall be generall.

And thus I take my leave from Wyndsor castle, 26 of November, 1569.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. VI.

Sir RAFF SADLER to the Quenes Majestie.

Please it your royall majestie to understande, that forasmuche as my depeche from your highnes you gave me in charge, to write of the state of your affaires here ; I do therfore presume to trouble your majestie with the reding hereof. I was inforced, because the way by-tween Doncaster and Yorke was occupied by the rebells, to take another way, by meane whereof it was the longer before I could come hither; nevertheles, making all the spede I coulde on Wednesday the xxiiijth of this present, I arryved at Hull at midnight, where I founde my lord of Hunsden, and the next day his lordship and I cam together to this citie, being mette within viij myles of the same, with ij^c (200) horse sent out by my lord of Sussex,* to convey us safely hither. And

* Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, lord president of the northern council. He was a gallant soldier, a good commander, and yet so well skilled in the arts of courts, that honestly and openly he maintained his influence with the queen, in opposition to the intrigues of Leicester, who both feared and hated him. Many of his letters to queen Elizabeth are preserved in Mr Lodge's Illustrations, who has given an excellent and deserved character of Sussex, in a note on one of them, Vol. I. p. 367. The commendations which sir Ralph Sadler here, and elsewhere, bestows on Sussex's zeal, conduct, and fidelity, were intended to balance suspicions which might be infused into the mind of his mistress, by his rival in court favour. Indeed Sussex was in a very delicate situation; for having been the confidential friend of Norfolk, whose deliverance from prison was one object of Northumber-

my lorde himself receyved my lorde of Hunsden at the gate of the citie where we entered, and reioysed not a litle of our coming ; after our being in his lodging, I delyvered unto him your majesties lettres, which, when he had redde, he rendred most humble thanks to your majestie, and sayd, that of all the benefits which ever he did, or shall receyve at your highnes hands, he doth accompte this for one of the greatest, in that it pleased your majestie to sende me to him in this sorte, and in this tyme ; I assure your majestie, I do fynde meself welcom unto him, for if I were his own brother, he coulde not use me with more gentill enterteynement then he doth. And now to signifie in what terms I fynde all things here, as I can iudge, and as nere as, for the short tyme I have been here, I can get any knowlege : First, I assure your majestie on my fydelite, that I do fynde my saide lorde of Sussex a trew and faithful servaunt to your majestie, and as carefull, diligent, and circumspect in the execucion of his charge, and in my iudgement, as sufficient to use the same, as any noble man that I have seene supplie that office, and well I do perceyve, that if he had force and power, according to his good will, he wold not have suffered thes rebells to kepe the felde in that sorte as they do. He sayeth, if nothing ells depende upon the matier but the losse of his lif, he wolde, or this have adventured the same with such small company as he hathe here ; but when he doth consider how daungerous the sequele might be, if he should receyve the overthrowe, that onely forceth him to stay for a tyme, wherein surely he hath grete reason, for by myne advise, the overthrowe of thes rebells wolde not be attempted but with suche force, as by Godds grace, might execute the same with suretie. The force and power assembled here for your majestie, is about the number of iijm. v^c (2500) fotemen, and abouts v^c (500) horsemen, which is not hable to encounter the force of the rebells, being, as I am crediblie in-

land and Westmoreland, and his own brother, Egremont Ratcliffe, being with them in arms, he might naturally be suspected of favouring the insurrection. This great man died at his manor of Bermondsey 9th June, 1583, leaving one of the most unspotted characters of his time.

fourmed, abouts the number of vjm. (6000) fotemen, and m. (1000) horsemen very well appoynted, whereof a grete number of them being serving men, servaunts, and tenants to the ij erles, and to thother gentilmen, their associats, in this wicked rebellion, be pistoliers armed and furnyshed with shotte, which argueth that this matier hathe long before hand ben prepared for by the saide rebells. It hath bene wisely foreseen, therefore, by my lord of Sussex to forbere, and stay untill such tyme as he may be able to take the felde with som securite, and with suche force, as by Godds grace, he may do your majestie good service, and bring thes troubles to such ende, as may be to your honour and quyet; whereunto, I assure your majestie, he lacketh neyther good will, nor noble courage, and to that ende, doth spare no charge of his owne, which I do see, is very greate. I fynde the gentilmen of this countrey, though the most parte of them be well affected to the cause, which the rebells make the colour of their rebellion, yet in outwarde shew, well affected to serve your majestie trewly against them, and yet I see no suche cause, as I may be utterly voyde of suspicion towards them, and therfore it is wisdom to be furnished with such force, as your majestie may be assured of, which will the rather inforce them to serve trewly, though they had any meanyng to the contrary. The doubte and suspicion conceyved of them by my lorde of Sussex, not without vehement and good cause, as I do well perceyve, hathe moche troubled his lordship, but yet nothing more grevous unto him, then the trayterous deling with him of Egremont Ratclif,* with the circumstances, whereof, I will not trouble your majestie now in wryting, but surely my lordship taketh it so to herte, that I dare promise on my fidelyte, that if he fall into his hands, he will be revenged on him in such sorte, as the worlde shall see how moche he

* The earl of Sussex's brother, who was amongst the insurgents. He was attainted by act of parliament, fled to the continent, and was afterwards executed in the market-place at Namur for a plot, real or pretended, against the Spaniards, together with Gray, another English fugitive. *Estate of the English Fugitives*, London, 4to, 1595.

abhorreth the trayterous doings of an unnatural brother; I will now leave to trouble your majestie with mo words, for what order is given here by my lord lieutenaunt* for our reenforcement, with such power as is to com from Barwick and out of Northumberland, † and otherwise your majestie shall understonde by our commen lettres. And if order be given there, as I trust there is, for som relief of horsemen to com to us from the south, out of those shires bordering on thys, we shalbe the stronger; and also expedient, and most necessary it is, that some convenyent masse of money be sent hither with spede, for the diffraeing of thes chargs, whereof it may please your majestie to have consideracion in sorte, as the importaunce of thys matier doth require. The 26 of November, 1569.

No. VII.

*From my Lord Admirall to the Right Honorable Sir RAFFE SADLER,
Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

Att your goinge frome the courte, yow promysed me to answeere my letters, of suche matters as arr mete to lett me understand in the north, which I earnestlie desier yow to performe. The newes that arr, nott onelie in thease parts, but in the hole realme ys, that all ys in quiate and good obedience unto the quenes majestie, and every man bente to sarve her highnes to the deathe, with all that they have, and deteste and mislike this rebellion. Every man providithe to furnishe hymself, to sarve her highnes ageynest all rebells, and other her enemies. This cuntrie ys in redynes under my charge, with 12 thowsand men well ap-

* *i. e.* The earl of Sussex.

† Sir George Bowes was assembling a force in the bishopric, in the rear of the insurgents, and sir John Foster, with the earl of Northumberland's own brother, Sir Henry Percy, were mustering forces for the queen upon the Borders.

poynted, when so ever the quenes majestie will commaunde us to sett forward. I wold yf yt pleased the quenes majestie, that I might receyve her commaundement to marche, to sarve with my lorde of Sussex to assist hym yf he have nede which I wold most gladlie do in this quarrell. Then hopinge yow will lett me heare frome yow as sone as yow maye, I take my leave, desyringe to be commendid most hartelie to my good lorde of Sussex, I take my leave of yow. Frome Lincoln, this 26th of November, 1569.

Your assured frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. VIII.

Lord Admiral to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

J dyspatchyd one unto you yesterday with my letters, who j trost shall pas saffly to you, wherin I have syngefyd unto you, what redynes this sher* is in to serve your quenes majestie, and with what good wyll and forwardnes they goe to sarve her hynes. And the nomber of them wych ar xij thowsand, or ther abouts, j beseche you that j may here from you to understand the estate off the parts of the northe; wherof j here very lyttyl synce my comyng. My lord of Warwyk† hath presently wryttyn to me, that he is com to Warwyk, and doth levey the quenes subjects ther for her servys, and to morrow he wylbe at Leys-

* Lincolnshire.

† Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, a bold warrior, and subtle politician; to whom was intrusted the command of the large force, advancing northwards to support Sussex. This nobleman received a wound (with a poisoned bullet, as was supposed) at the siege of Havre de Grace, in 1563 which never healed, and in 1589, occasioned the amputation of the limb, and his subsequent death.

ter, and tak all the powre of that shere with hym, and so as it aperyth by his letter, he wyll com towards the Trent in these parts, wher his lordship and I shall mete, as he wryteth to me ; I have not wrytyn therof to my lord of Sossex, becaus my letter was clossid or I dyd resseve my lord of Warwyks letter, wych I pray you let hys lordship understand. And thus I take my leve with my harty comendashions, from Lyncoln the xxvij of November, 1569.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

*A star, with an inscription,
not legible.*

*To the right honorable sir Raff Sadler, knight,
chancellour to the dutche of Lancaster, and
one of the quenes majesties privie counsell.
Hast with all diligence.*

No. IX.

*From my Lords of the Councill, to our assured loving friend Sir RAFFE
SADLER, Knight, Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of
the Quenes Majesties Privie Counsell.*

After our right harty commendations. We have receyved your severall letters and advertisements, as well from Newewarke as from Barton upon Humber, which we have communicated unto the quenes majestie, whose highnes taketh your diligence used therein in very acceptable parte, and we all gyve you our harty thanks for the same, praying you to contynue therein, as often as commoditie may serve. And by your next letters wee hope to heare, that you shall be come to Yorke to the erle of Sussex, the rather for that by late letters receyved from those partes, wee be advertised that the rebells be retyred backe agayne northwards, so that the passage betweene Doncaster and Yorke

is now open, the lord Darcie contynuing at the said towne of Doncaster, and very honourable provyding to the uttermost he may, for the savegarde and defence of the same, which he hath the rather doon by your good advice and counsell, for the which wee hartely thank you. There is alredy a mayne armie put in ordre, and shall, by Gods grace, marche forwards within a very fewe dayes towards those parts, under the leading of the earle of Warwyke, and the lord admirall, her majesties lieutenants generall of the same. And so fare you hartely well. From Wyndesour the 28th of November, 1569.

Your assured loving friends,

F. BEDFORD.

W. NORTH.

R. LEYCESTER.

F. KNOLLYS.

W. CECILL.

FRA. MILDMAI.

No. X.

*From my Lord of Bedford and Sir F. KNOLLES to our very loving friend
Sir RAPHE SADLER, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy.*

After our very hartie commendacions. Where this bearer, Roger Askeham, having heretofore served at Barwicke, dothe now presently repayre into the north, and is the quenes majestie servaunt, very willinge to do some service in those parts, if he might be employed: we have thought goode so to signifie unto you, nothing doubting but you will employe him in somme one place or other of service, according to his desire, and the rather upon this our commendacion. And thus we bidde you moste hartely well to fare. From Wyndesour, the 28th of November, 1569.

Your assured loving frends,

F. BEDFORD.

F. KNOLLYS.

Post script. This bayrer hathe somewhat to ympart unto you.

No. XI.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

I have sente a letter herewith to master Carie beinge at Sandall castle, neare Wakefeld, by commandement frome my lords of the counsell. I pray yow that the same maye be sente hym with all dyllygence, that I maye receyve answer from hym as sone as may be possible. And thus wisshinge yow long lyf in moche honor, I take my leave from Lincoln this xxixth of November, 1569.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

[*Star.*]

I have sent yow two letters before this tyme, wherof I have receyved no answer; in one of the letters I made greate booste of the numbers of men in this countie, because the rebells beinge then betwext this and Yorke, I dowted the intercepcon of them. I pray yow lett me be most hartely commended to my lorde of Hunsden.

F. C.

To the right honorable, &c. Hast, hast, hast.

No. XII.

The Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

After my hartie commendacions unto yow. I have presentlie receyved letters frome Mr Secretary, wherof one ys directed unto yow, w^{ch} I send you by this berer. I have wrytten twise or thrise to yow wherof I have nott yett had answere, and do gretly desier to heare

from yow; and therfore I pray yow, as shortelie as maye be, gyve me suche advertysments as yow thinke mete for me to understand. I am presentlie puttinge my self in redines wth all the force of this shier, to marche towarde my lorde of Warwyke toward Leycester, to ioyne wth his lordship, and the forces under hym, for the quenes majesties service, accordinge to her majesties commaundement, and her commysion to his lordship and me directed, besechinge yow, that I may be most hartelie commended unto my verie good lorde the earle of Sussex. I trust to be redie wth in this iij daies to marche, frome hence towards my lorde of Warwicke. And thus for lacke of tyme I ende, and byd yow most hartelie fare well. Frome Lincoln, this xxixth of November, 1569.

Your assured frende,

F. CLYNTON.

[*Star.*]

No. XIII.

*Sir WALTER MILD MAY * to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.*

SIR,

I was veary glad, by your lettres of the xxvith, to understand of your sauffe arrivall at Yorke, the rather for that fynding the passages stopped, you were driven to take an other way, and by meting of a man † of small acquaintance with thoes matiers, were put in more doubte, that you found just cause. Sory we are here, that all this while your force there is growen no greater, but we be in good hope, thoroughe the care and provision you write of, you shall be in better strengthe shorte-

* Sir Walter Mildmay, a learned and upright servant of queen Elizabeth, was early employed in affairs concerning the revenue of the crown, and became chancellor of the exchequer, on the death of sir Richard Sackville. He founded Emanuel college in the university of Cambridge, and largely endowed Christ's college, in which he had been educated. Sir Walter Mildmay died of a consumption in 1589.

† Binks the messenger.

lie; the rather for that, by the retire of the rebells, * you have some more commoditie to bring your nombres to you.

Of the army prepared from hence for your assistance, undre the erle of Warwick, and my lord admirall, I am sure you here; they goe forwards with all spede possible; in the meane time, Mr Horsley † commyng hether with a band of 500 harquebuzers out of the Wight, doeth march this day towards Doncaster, and captain Leighton followeth hym with the like nombre furnished out of London, to be employed as thoes generalls shall appoint.

Ordre is geven for your help in munition. And for money, there is presentlie sent you 2000l. besids 2000l. paid afore, in the begynnyng, to Sir Tho. Gargraves hands, whiche we understand is paid to hym, though you make in your common letters no mencion; and herafte my lords meane to remembre you with further help.

I trust you have hard from my brother Cary, he ys in Sandall castle, a myle from Wakefield, having, as he wrote, a good nombre of men, but unarmed; my lords have taken ordre to relieve hym with munition and some money. But I pray you, allso, let hym heare from you, and receyve that help you may.

The quene majestie liked well of your spedy repayre to Yorkes, and reposeth a singler trust in you, for the furtheraunce of her service there, wherof every man here is most assured. And for my parte, I doubte

* The earls having advanced as far as Weatherby and Tadcaster on their way towards York, suddenly altered their intention, and on the 23d November, retired northwards, for the useless and dilatory purpose of besieging sir George Bowes in Barnard Castle.

† Horsley, rather Horsey. Sir Edward Horsey was knighted 1577, (*Catal. Knts. temp. Eliz.*) He commanded in the Isle of Wight. In a libellous poem, called "Leicester's Ghost," that statesman is made to number among his adherents,—

Sir Edward Horsey in the Isle of Wight,
And noble sir George Carie next bore sway,
Men of great courage, and no little might,
To take my part in any doubtful fray.

Horsey distinguished himself at the siege of Nieuport in 1563. See *Hollinshed*.

not but this iorney shall redounde to your perpetual commendacion, though, for the tyme, it be painfull to you. Thies small things that I can further you in, I trust you will use me as your owne, and as one that wisheth to you most hartelie the good successe, that I wold to myn owne hart. And so leave you to the Almightye Lord. From Windesor, the xxxth November, 1569.

Your owne most assured for ever,

WA. MILD MAY.

*To the right honourable my veary good frende sir
Rauf Sadleir, knight, chauncellor of the duchie,
and one of her majesties privie counsell.*

No. XIV.

Sir RAFF SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

It may lyke you to understande, that this mornyng your lettres of the xxvijth of November to my lord lieutenant, arryved here, whereunto his lordship made my lord of Hunsden and me pryvey. And fourthwith we made a dispatche to my lord admirall by our lettres, sent with a speciall messenger, for the supplie of men, money, and munycyon nedeful for this service, according to your direction. What force we have here, and what trust us in the same you understonde by our former letters; nevertheles, if we may have a supplie out of the south of m. (1000) horsemen and m. m. (2000) fotemen, whereof as I wrote before I wolde have v^c (500) pikes armed, and v^c (500) shotte of the harquebuss, there is no doubte, but, with Goddes grace, we shalbe able to bring this matier to a good ende without any daungier: my lorde lieutenant thinketh with a lesse force to do it, but for my part having no grete trust in our northern force which we have here, I desyre, therefore, to have the greater force out of the south, whereunto we may trust. Order is given, as we wrote before in our common letters to the quenes majestie, of the xxvjth of November, for

som force of horsemen, to com to us out of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Northumberlande, and, also, for parte of the garrison of Barwicke; but whether any such force will com unto us, or when they will com, I can make no sure accompte. And, therefore, desire to have the saide supplie from my lord admirall with all spede, which, if we had, we nede not tary for the rest. The rebells ar now at Raby,* as I have intelligence, and it is sayed, that yesterday, or to day, they wilbe doing with sir G. Bowes at Barnay castle, what they intende further, I can not tell. But they have gotten Hartilpole† as I here, and have put ccc men into it, to kepe it for them, which hath proceded thorough the negligence of suche as my lord lieutenant put in trust, to go thither and to levie the number of cc men nerest to the same to be put into the towne, which, for lacke of good dilligence in them, is now prevented by the rebells, whereof I gather, that they meane to kepe that towne for their refuge, and to seke their escape by sea, orells be in hope to receyve there som foreygn ayde, wherefore it were good, that one or ij of the quenes majesties shippes on the sea, shoulde lye on this coste to prevent the same. The 2d of December, 1569.

No. XV.

Mr Secretary to Sir R. SADLEIR.

SIR,

Only to thank you for your sondry lettres, I now wryte, and ther with, also, for your gret goodnes to my lord of Rutland, who, by his lettres, craveth of me many thanks, besyde his owne.

* The splendid baronial castle of the earl of Westmoreland, now the seat of the earl of Darlington.

† Hartlepool, a village and sea port on the coast of Durham, about sixteen miles from that town, at that time fortified with a wall and towers on each side of the harbour. It was of more consequence before the rise of Sunderland, and was mentioned in Jac. I. as a proper place to send members to parliament.

By the quenes lettres to my lord of Sussex, you shall fynd som staye lykly to be of your supply you wrote for; which I looked not for this morning.

Her with I send a lettre in ciphre from the quenes majestie to my lord regent, it is to thank hym, and provok hym to come to the frontyers with force. I feare Hartillpoole will brede some longer trooble.* From Windsor, v Decembre, 1569.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. XVI.

The Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SYR,

I have presentelye wrytten to my lord of Sussex of the sendinge of the treasure appoynted to be sent you, viz. two thousand pounds, which ys delyvered to sir Thoms Gargrave this day att Doncaster, yf he be ther to receyve the same; and so to be conveyed by my lorde Darcy and hym to Yorke, and lykewise have I wrytten to his lordship of the munycion and supply of hys men, which I entende to send hym with all the diligence I maye, as by my lettres sente to his lordshipe yow shall perceyve. I have no newes to write unto yow, other then I am sure you are dalye advertised of frome the courte, which ys all well, and quiatt in the hole realme, and every man redie and glad to sarve her highnes ageynst the rebells. And albeytt I thinke you have hard all suche newes as ys to be written from the courte, yett one thinge

* From the facility of foreign support afforded by the insurgents possessing a seaport. Vitelli, marquis of Catena, was at the court of queen Elizabeth, under pretence of an embassy from Spain, but, in reality, to foment the insurrection, and take on himself the command of such forces as the duke of Alva should send over to support it. Of this Cecil was probably aware.

I thought good to write in adventure, ytt be nott come to your knowledge. That ys, howe my lord of Derby* havinge receyved lettres, and other sedicious writings, to provoke his lordship to consent to the two earles rebells, haith dewtifully sente bothe lettres and the messenge to the quenes majestie, with offer to sarve her highnes agaynst them, and all other that are nott true unto her, to the uttermost of his power, wherein he haith showed hym self so faytheful a noble man, as he haith ever bene, as I do wishe ytt shall be knowen to all men to his honor and prayse. And thus thankinge you for yours letters which I have receyved from you, I take my leave, wishinge yow as well to do as I wold do to my self. Frome Scrowbye, this vjth of December, att viij of the cloke at night.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

I pray yow that I maye be recommended to my lord of Rutland.

No. XVII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I do perceyve by the quenes majesties lettres of the first of this present, addressed to my lord lieutenant, my lord of Hunsden, and me,

* Edward Stanley, third earl of Derby. He was of queen Mary's privy council, and her lord high chamberlain. It is probable, that being a catholic, the insurgent earls calculated upon his support, but in this, as in other instances, they were too sanguine. Camden assures us, that many of the noblemen of this faith behaved in the same manner as lord Derby. This earl was so remarkable for hospitality, that it was said upon his death, good house-keeping seemed to fall asleep in England. He died at Latham house in 1574.

The letter of the rebel earls to lord Derby, with their general protestation or manifesto, sent to him, lord Mounteagle, and others, and also his letter sending them to the council, are all printed in Haynes's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 564.

that her majestie will hardly beleve, that the force and power of her good subiects of this countrey should not increase, and be able to matche with the power of the rebells; but surely, sir, if it may please her majestie to consider of it, it is easie to finde the cause thereof, for there be not in all this countrey x gentilmen, that do favour and allowe of her majesties procedings in the cause of religion, and the comen people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blynded with tholde popish doctryne, and therefore do so moche favour the cause, which the rebells make the colour of their rebellion, that though their persons be here with us, I assure you their harts, for the most parte, be with the rebells, and, no doubt, they had holly rebelled, if, at the begynnyng, my lorde lieutenant had not both wisely and stoutely handeled the matier. This I have founde to be most trew, and therefore have good cause to doubt, leest, if we shulde go to the felde with this northren force onely, they would fight but fayntly in this quarele, for as I wrote to you before, if the father be on this syde, the soon is on the other, and one brother with us, and the other with the rebells. Whereof you may conceyve what trust is in them.

We tary now for such force as is to com unto us out of the south, which being arryved, we will tary no longer, for that which we loke for out of Westmoreland, Cumberlande, Northumberlande, and Berwick, whereof I can make no sure accompte, and therefore our force out of the south wolde be the stronger; and yet having v^c (500) horsemen with the shotte, ledde by Mr Edwarde Horsey, and som armed piks, I trust we shall do well ynough, whereof, I doubt not, you will have care to see us furnished. As yet, the money, armour, and munycyon sent from thens, is not arryved here, whereof we have great lacke. Sir, I did partely advertise you by my former lettres, what charge my lord lieutenant susteyneth here, which, I do assure you, is very greate, for he fedeth all the noble men and gentilmen here assembled, and therefore, in reason, his dyet is to be encreased for the tyme of this service. Whereof it may please you to have som consideracion there, and that I maye know her majesties pleasure, whether of her highnes

treasure, which shall com to my hands, his lordship may have any allowance therof; assuring you, by the faith I owe to God, and to her majestie, that he never spake any woorde to me of it, ne yet semeth to make any accompt of the charge, but this that I write, I do it of my self, without him thinking it grete reason that he shoulde be considered. vj Decembre, 1569.

No. XVIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Even now I have receaved your lettre of the vjth of this present, and at this tyme being full of care for sir Grey I do only wryte therof to my lord lieutenant.

I thynke it nedeful, that the mashall of Berwyk shuld have good regard to captain Rede, * whom here, we wish to be taken and committed to saff custody.

I am half angry with my lord Scroopes delay. † I thanke you for my lord of Rutland, whom I am gladd to be brought upp in understanding of affayrs there, but, I thynk, without there be some other cause, that it wer better his hand shulde not subscribe lettres of counsell ioyntly with my lord lieutenant, my lord of Sussex, and your lordship, as I now see a copy of a lettre to my lord Scroope. I leave this

* It would seem from some passages in the sequel, that this officer was suspected of holding a communication with the rebels. He had distinguished himself in the Scottish reformation war, of which he communicated the principal passages to Hollinshed.

† Lord Scroope was brother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk. Queen Mary had been confined in his castle of Bolton, until January 1568, when she was removed to Tutbury. He was captain, or governor of Carlisle, where he was now raising a force, in conjunction with the earl of Cumberland, for suppression of the rebels.

to your consideracion to ordre it, without prejudice to the yong gentillman. And so untill to morrow I take my leave.

I would gladly here more from you of Hertilpoole. You forget to wryte to my lady Sadler, who lately sent hyther to know how you did, and I answered hir, well. But your self shall be better beleved. 8 December, hora 10 nocte.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. XIX.

Mr ROB. CONSTABLE * *to* *Sir* RAYFF SADLER.

My humeble and bowndayn dewty consydred, may yt please your honour to understande, yt hayth plesed the qweyns majestie to ellect and appoynt me to serve hyr hyghnes yn sych sort, as I never practessed the lyke here to fore, gyvyng me greater credgett then I have dysserved as I doo consave by my lord my gud Mr,† and sir Walter Myldmays

* The Robert Constable here playing so base a part, seems to have been Robert Constable of Flambrough, Co. *Ebor.* His grandfather, sir Robert Constable, was hanged in chains over Beverly-gate at Hull, for his share in the rebellion, called the pilgrimage of grace. His father was sir Marmaduke Constable, made Knight Banneret at Roxburgh, by the earl of Surry. The lady of sir Marmaduke, and mother of Robert, was Elizabeth, daughter to the lord Darcy. Robert Constable was probably extravagant as well as otherwise worthless, for he sold the monastery and manor of Nuue-Eaten, *in com Warwick*, to sir Ambrose Carr, in the 6th of queen Elizabeth. He married Dorothy, daughter of sir John Widdrington, knight, and relict of Fenwick, and hence, probably, his connections among the rebels. He was knighted, as appears from Stow's Chronicle, and Collins's Baronetage, in 1570, by the earl of Sussex, for his services in the invasion of Scotland in 1570; and one of his letters to Shrewsbury, giving an account of that furious and wasting incursion, may be found in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. p. 42. Sir William Constable, bart. son of this infamous man, signed the sentence of death upon Charles I. and his estates were seized by the crown on the Restoration.

† The earl of Leicester, to whom Constable was a retainer.

words and derectyon, which I trust thay have serteffyed your honor of or thys. Mere at lerdge, sir, thys ys the trust commytted unto me, to use all the pollessy and meyns I can, to get yntellegens what number of horsemen and footmen the rebbells be, wher thay be devyded, or encamped, whether thay pretend to remove from tyme to tyme, what fornetter thay have of armoore and munyssyon, what ayd thay look for, from whens and which way yt showld come to thaym, and thus to serteffye your honor, or Mr Edwerd Care, yf he be nerer from tym to tym. Allso to attemp yf I can be ressaved, to sarve amongs thaym, with so manny as I shall thynk neydful to sarve my torn, and to enterpryse to doo sum explots, all thowgh thay be contrary to the laws, to wyn me creddet emongs the rebbels; after that, to doo my endeavor to saw sedyssyon, to dysscoradge, to devyde, and to dyspars thaym yf I can. Nevertheles, all ys reffered unto my dysscressyon to doo, as I convenyently may, respectyng myn awn safty. I was commawnded not to spare for munnye, with prommes to be forneshed of so myche as I should thynk nedfull to reqwyre; and as thys ys the greatest credgett that I ever entred ynto, and the fyrst sarves that ever I was commawnded to do for the qweyns majestie, or for my lord my mayster, to whom I am of dewtye manny wayes most enterely bownd; so ys yt the most perrellos kynd of sarves that any man can enterpryse, yet I never thowght to reffuse the saym, thogh yt showld cost me my lyff; so, that I have takne upon me hereyn, to do thottermost of my endeavor, which I shall, with Gods grace, trewly perform, avoydyng so nere as I can wyllfully to rune upon myn own dystroctyon, besechyng Almyghty God to grawnt me grace, wyt, and powr, to do unto the qweyns hyghnes, and to my lord my master, as gud sarves, as I pretend and trust to do thayme faythfull and trew sarves, acordyng to ther commawnments so sone as I possyble may; and where as the qweyns majestes fre pardon ys promest unto me, and so many as shall sarve by my appoyntment, allso hyr hyghnes to be my gud and gratyos ladye hereafter. I have not stayd as a curyos wyse man wold to have

my pardon delyvered yn hand; nor to endent for my reward, but submytts me to abyde and stand to hyr hyghnes most noble benevolens, as best may plese hyr majesty, whether owght or noght, yf I esscayp with lyff, otherways my full hope and most humeble sewt ys, thatyt may plese hyr hyghnes to have pytty and compassion of my powr wyff and children; I dowt not but God wyll styr hyr noble hert to be myndfull of me and myne, to our gret comforths hereafter; for yt, I am so glad to hassard my lyf yn deffens of hys trewth, and hyr hyghnes just qwarrell. I wyll humebly crave of your honor, as ys neydfull for me, fyrst, your favorable gud wyll to the furtherans and strenghtnyng of all my cawses, for otherways, I know a word of you yn my contrary, may overthrow all my sarves, (2) secret delyng, not so mych for my safty, as for preservatyon of the queyns sarves, both now and hereafter, yf neyd requyre, (3) yowr favorable counsell, with instroctyons what you wyll commawnd me fyrst to doo, &c. and by what meyns I may best atcheve therto, (4) I have neyd of a supply of munny at your honors dyscressyon, which ys the cheyffest enstrement pertenyng to thes works, wherby great sarves may be done; yt may be that v c.ⁱⁱ yn hand, wyll do more gud then v m.ⁱⁱ (5000l.) yn promes, or yet x m. (10,000) mens strengths as your honors, or thys, hath experymented. I can not at all tymes send for munny as neyd may requyre. I trust yt be a sownd creddet ys commytted to me, so that yow neyd not dowt nor fere to hassard a porsyon of munny with me, that hassards my lyff yn sarves, yt shall not be waysted nor converted to the payment of my debts, or to my use, but bestowed as yt awght to be; and yf I scayp with lyff, I wyll render a trew accownt thereof; yf I dye the qweyns majesty may thynk yt a cast lost at dyce. That porcyon of munny that yow thynk meyt to ventur with me, I pray yow send yt by myn unkle, thys berer, for thogh I say yt, your honor wyll fynd hym worthy of creddet. Lastly, I pray yow to gyve as full creddet unto my sayd unkle Wylliam Constable as I trust yow wold do unto me, for I was commawnded to bryng hym with me for my better comfort and hellp yn thys sarves; he can declare unto yow the reasonable cawses of my long

letter yn comyng from the cowrte, and the cawse whye I come not unto yowr honor at thys tym, as my bowndayn dewt were, and althowgh I have an egerr dyssyer to se my powr wyf and chyl dren, to understand what cayse they bey yn, feryng lest thay be spoyled of the lyttle that I left, or extreymly used by the rebbells. Yet no care shall caws me neglect my dewty of sarves, but shalbe glad to stay, and do as yow lyke to commawnd me, or thynk yt best. Sir, I pray yow pardon, my bawldnes, and tedyosnes heryn, for I meyn to wryt more breyfly from hens forth. Thus I rest at yowr commawndment, wyschyng yow most prospethous heylth, encreyse of mych honour. From Ferrybryggs, thys x day of Dyssember, 1569.

Yowr honors humebly assewred

and ryddy at commawndment unto deth,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. XX.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have presently spoken with a man of good credyt, who sayeth to me, that he is well assured, that the rebells have gevyn over the sege of Barney castle * on Saturday last, and becaus I do think the serten-

* Barnard Castle, as we have already noticed, had been occupied by sir George Bowes, the proprietor of Sheatlam Castle, which lies about two miles distant, and of considerable property in the town of Barnard Castle. The fortress itself belonged to the unfortunate earl of Westmoreland, against whom it was now garrisoned. It had been in his family for at least two descents, being acquired by marriage, or purchase, from the Staffords of Buckingham, who held an interest in it, till the attainder of Edward, duke of Buckingham. The report of the siege being raised, was erroneous. It surrendered to the insurgent earls on honourable terms. After suppressing of the rebellion, Barnard Castle fell to the crown by attainder, and was leased by queen Elizabeth to sir George Bowes, as Mr Surtees discovered from an entry in the rolls at Durham. The ruins of Barnard Castle declare its extent and im-

ty of intelligens is better knone to you ther, then any reporte that can other wys be made, j desyer, if j may be so bold with you, to have your advertisement howe the matter standythe; we ar com this nyght to Pomfret, and to morow, we wyll, with Gods leve, go to Wetherby, assuring you, upon my fayth, that j never sawe so wery horses, and rairly so fornyshed men on them, they ar com out of dyvers countereys to sarve under my lord of Warwyck and me. And to be playne with you, j am in opynyon, that except we have one daye or towe to rest our horses, and to pot our horsmen in order, and to fyt their armere on them as agret nomber of them is come this nyght to Pomfret, j fere we shall have a wek sarvys of them. So that if the caus be not soch bot that we may rest our horsis at Wetherby, j wishe you wold let my lord of Warwick and me understand it. We are calyd on to prosede to com to yow; bot we ar not gevyn to understand how things pas by the rebels, nor of any alteracion that hapyns. I trest my lord of Sossex doth tak order for commaundment to be gevyn for the vyteling of us as we com towards you, wherof our sodyers fynd gret lak alredy. j pray you for the frendship I bere you, let me know

portance, and the situation is very strong. If we can take the authority of an old ballad, published in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, on this "Rising in the North Countrey," the outer circuit of the castle was soon stormed, but the keep secured by strong interior defences, resisted much longer.

Then sir George Bowes he straitwaye rose
 After them, some spoyle to make;
 Those noble erles turned back againe,
 And aye they vowed that knight to take.

That baron he to his castle fled,
 To Barnard castle then fled he,
 The uttermost walls were eathe to win,
 The erles have wonne them presentlie.

The uttermost walls were lime and brick,
 But thoughe they won them soon anone;
 Long e'er they wan the innermost walles,
 For they were cut in rock of stone.

how you prosede with your armey. And thus I take my leve from Pomfrett, the xij of Decembre, 1569, at ix oclock at nyght.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXI.

Therle of Westmorland to ROBERT CONSTABLE.

COSYN ROBERT,

I thank you wyth al my hart, for your gentle offer, and fynd my fortune is now to have nede of fryndes, I pray you shew your self now such a frynd, as nature should you to be, and her I promise you of myne honour, to come safe, and go safe, and this latter shalbe your warrant. From Branspeth, thii xiiij of December.

Your assured frynd and cosyn,

C. WESTMORLAND.

*Seal, a bull's head, the ancient crest
of the Neville family.*

No. XXII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

My humeble and bowndayn dewty consydered. Pleseth yt your (honour), allthough you were not wylling to gyve me yowr cownsell, becaws yow had resaved none advertessment from my lord my master, nor sir Walter Mildmay, conserning my sarves drecte by thaym, which had lyke to have beyn my utter dysscorredgement, yet deyply weyng my

* This letter the spy Constable probably forwarded to Sadler, inclosed in that which follows.

faythfull promes mayd unto thaym, to hasserd my boddy theryn, I thynk me bound yn consyens, as well as yn dewty, to do theryn my full endevoours to thuttermost of my power, and that yt ys not soffy-sseynt for me to excuse myself by ye cold comforth I fownd yn your words, for so much as yow reffered all to my dyscressyon.*

I adventred to send my servand yesterday to therll of Westmerland at Branspeth, with thys messaydge, that I was retorned from the cowrt, and dyssyerous to speak with hym, as nature and dewty dyd pryk me yn thys hys extremetye, rather then yn prossperrety; prayng hym yf he wold have me so to do, not only to send me hys handwrytng, that I may saffly come and goo, but also to appoynt with my man which way I shold come, and so he hath appoynted me to bayt thys day at Kyrk Meryngton,† where I must be tayken prisoner and browght affore hym. My pretens ys, God wyllng, fyrst to excuse my self why I came not to sarve hym, and what news I careyd to the cowrte, and what moved me so to doo. As I may doo by gud reson, and yt behoves me not to ommytt the same for fere of falls, for my servand was bordened therwith, as derectly and partyculerly as yf I had beyn constrened to have exprest yt, where at I marvell gretly of there gud espyall. Also I will tell hym, that withowt fayll he shall withyn x dayes se the quenys armye yn the felds, xxx m. men, where of m. (1000) pystellers of horsbak, v m. (5000) lyght horsmen, iiij m. footmen, and xx m. (20,000) armed pyks, archers and bylls. Moreover, I wyll declare as I have met hys soldyers comyng from hym, by ij, iiij, vj and dosons yn severall companes, complenyng, as I have yn deyde examined dyvers that sayd their comyng home was for more munny, but thay wold be hangged at home or thay retorned agayn to sarve withowt wayges. Moreover, whereas thay mayk ther full accownt that my lord presy-

* Sir Ralph Sadler, as appears from a subsequent letter, reposed little faith in Constable's reiterated professions of zeal for the queen's interest, and no less distrusted (it would seem) his repeated hints that money was essentially necessary to his doing good service.

† Kirk Merrington, a considerable village and thoroughfare on the road from Durham to Piersbridge; about four miles from Branspeth; it is also the direct road from Catterick to Branspeth.

dent, therll of Comberland, therll of Rutland, and my lord Dacers, with all ther forcs, and Mr Edwar Horsay, with all hys shott,* wyll torn to tayk ther part. I entend to tell thame playnly, that thay do but flatter thaym sellfs. I trust, with Gods hellp, to put sych terror yn ther herts, as possyble yow may wyn the battell withowt strok or shott.† I have herd that a wyse captayn wold be glad to mayk hys enemy a brydge of gowld to pas by hym; I say as I dyd; I pra God gyve me grace to do as gud sarves, as my pretens ys to do faythfull and trew sarves. Yf I had church land I wold sell yt for iij yers purchases, or I lakt munny to serve the quenys majesty as I wold now doo; with munnye I wold not dowt but to be dellyvered with all the most prynspall traytors yn to your hands withyn few days. iij^c (300) horsmen myght have taykne both therles forth of Brawnspeith thys last nyght. Thay declyne from thorder of gud soldyers; thay tryst so mych to the contry that they nether keyp scuryers, warders, watch, nor scoott. Of Sonday last the Protestants and Papests withyn Newcastell mayd a fray, but Mr Hodshon,‡ a rank Papest, ys put forth of the town, and the matter paysseffed, praised be God. Yesterday was a muster apoynted upon Awkland mowr, and a pay promest, but yt ys put of tyll thys day. The lords entends to repare to Newcastell, and thynks to have yt dellyvered, but I trust they may be dyssaved yn yt as yn other thyngs. The town of Mydlam§ is spoyll-ed. My lord warden of the mydle marches hath scummed all John Swynborns cattell from hys pasters. John Swynborne and Merkne-

* Sir Edward Horsey brought from the Isle of Wight five hundred harquebusiers.

† Even so it befel, for the army of the earls melted away without a stroke given.

‡ This was probably one of the Hodgesons of the manor of Hebburn, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There were at the time many recusants of this name, as appears from a curious letter of Toby, bishop of Durham, among the Lansdowne MSS. Sir Robert Hodgeson, of Hebburn, was prosecuted in the time of Charles I. as a notorious papist and malignant.

§ I suppose this is Middleham, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which lay exactly in the line of the rebels march. The Castle was a place of importance during the wars of York and Lancaster, and Richard the Third's only, and short-lived son was born there. But apparently it had been dismantled for some time. The ruins are of great extent, and argue its former grandeur.

feyld, with sertayn horsmen and fowtmen, dyd mayk a manner of a followyng and heryng; my lord warden was gottne to Newcastle re-tornyd bak. Yf yow wold lay but vj horsmen here abowts, and lywyse between Rypon and Rychmond, to ryd by ij and ij together, myght tayk horsmen and footmen stragglyng from ther camp. But for hyn-dryng thys serves I cowlde easaly have horst and armed myself and my man, and a dosen moo veray well senst I came hether. I send yow heryn closed my lord of Westmorlands letter. Sir, I pray yow after yow have perused my letters, to enclose tham withyn yowr letter, and to send to my lord, and dyssyer that sir Walter Myldmay may keyp thaym, for I knaw hym to be sircomspect; yt towcheth meyn lyff. Thys nyght I wyll abyde with the lords, to-morrow I entend to ryde home; and apon retorn of thys berer I entend to ryd to the lords agayn, and fych with me as shall serve my torn: yowr honor may boldly send me anny messedge yow wyll, or anny thyng but letter, for hys nek shalbe as far yn the halter as myn, and he shall knaw the per-rell, such fellow must I neyds reward bowntyfully. I pray yow pardon my tedyosnes, and thus I wysshe prosperos, with mych encrease of honour. From Cattryk brygg, thys xiiij of Dyssember. The fyrst letter of my naym here wrytne shall, from hensforth, serve for my naym.

Yowr honors most humeble to command for ever,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. XXHI.

Sir RAFF SADLER to the Lords of the Councell.

Please it your lordships. I am very loth to call upon your lordships for money, but knowing that there can be no expedition without it, specially in thes affayres, I am therefore forced to remember your lordships of our lacke thereof. Sir Tho. Gargrave hath delivered unto me iij.c.^{li} (400 l.) being all that was left of the mm.^{li} (2000 l.) whiche

he receyved before my commyng to Yorke; the residue he had leyed out by warraunt, as appereth upon his accompt. I receyved also of Chester, therault at armes, mm.ⁱⁱ (2000l.); and Peter Yorke having v. c.ⁱⁱ (500l.) to pay at London, was content for avoyding the trouble of the carrage of it thither, to pay it unto me, uppon hope to receyve somoche there, of such the quenes majesties treasure as shulde be sent hither, wherein I wrote of late to you, Mr Myldmay, and also my lord lieutenaunt; and I borrowed iiij. c.ⁱⁱ (400l.) of the honeste merchaunts of Hull, to be repayed at the commyng hither of the quenes majesties tresour, though as yet we have not repayed the same. Of all the which severall sommes, amounting in the hole to mmm. ccc.ⁱⁱ (3300l.) which cam to my hands, there doth remayne no more but v. c.ⁱⁱ (500l.) at this present. And we have here upon the poynt of iiij. m. (4000) fotemen, and now that Symonde Musgrave is com to us from my lord Scrope, with iiij. c. horsemen of the west marches, we be at this present above xij. c. horsemen, so that a litle money will go but a litle way among so many, considering also the charges of our caryages for this nomber, and other incydent charges; wherefore I am forced to put your lordships in remembraunce, for the spedie sending of som convenyent masse of money, for the deffraying and furnytur of these charges, whereof I trust your lordships will have such consideracione as thimportance of this service doth require. 15 Decembre, 1569.

No. XXIV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretary.

SIR.

I have at this present wrytten to my lords of the councell to helpe us here with money, for the defraying of these charges; and albeit I knowe your care of the quenes majesties affayres, to be suche as the

same must be the onely furtherer of the same, yet I thought it best to write to all the councell in that behalf. The rebells, understanding that we be on the way towards them, do now gather all the forces they can make, and I lerne all Clevelande, Allertonshire, Rychmondeshire, and the Bishopricke, ar all hollie gon unto them, such is their affection to the cause of religion, by meanes whereof they ar grown to the force of grete numbers, but yet confused, without order, armour, or weapon; so that, albeit, we thinke ourselves able ynough, with that force my lord lieutenaunt hath here to deale with them, and with Godds helpe to give them the overthrowe; yet because my lord of Warwick, and my lord Admirall ar so desyrous to be at this service, we do stay for them of intent to ioyne all our forces together, whereby we may proceed with suretie. My saide lords wilbe this night at Boroughbrig, which is a dayes iourney behynd us. And notwithstanding they resolved with us, when we mette together at Tadcaster on Saterday last, to com to us with all theyr horsemen, and to bring of fotemen m. (1000) shotte of the harquebuse, and one or ij thousande armed piks, and the rest of their fotemen to marche easely after, so as they might be alwayes within a day or ij dayes iourney of us, yet now I understande they bring their hole forces with them, being to the number, as they say, of xij m. (12,000) horsemen and fotemen, which is a cause of som delay, for that they can not marche so fast after us as they might have don with a lesse nombre, and besids that I knowe not how they wilbe victualled, the people of this countrey being so hollowe harted, and so unwilling to bring victualls to the campe; albeit we use all the meanes we can, both faire and fowle, to inforce them thereunto. And yet surely, though they do all they can, I see not how they can sufficiently furnishe victualls for such a number, considering that the rebells have spoyled the countrey before us. 15. December, 1569.

No. XXV.

Sir WALTER MYLDMAY to *Sir* RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

According to your lettre, I have long sithens caused P. Yorke to be repaid the fyve hundreth pounds that you received of hym. wherof I thinke you may have word, but yet, to be sure, I thought good to wright you thus moche; and to let you understand further, that this day her majestie hath resolved to send six thousand pounds more to be delivered to your hands, parte wherof is to be paid in grosse to Mr Carre, by my lord Admiralls ordre and yours, for that company, and the rest to be with you for my lord of Sussex band. I trust her majestie wilbe pleased to supplie your lacke that way, wherin all my lords are ready to further the best they canne. The rather for that now that your forces be comme together, they trust in God to have a short end of theis trowbles; wherin it apereth there wanteth emongest you no care nor travaille; which I pray God prosper, and send you alwaies as well to doe as I wishe to my self. So trusting you will use me in any thing you have cause in your absence, wherin I may doe ought, I take my leave of you. From Windesor, the xvijth of Decembre, 1569.

Your assured and faithfull frend,

WA. MILDMAY.

[Arms, three Greyhounds.]

No. XXVI.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

This daye on Mr Egleby* is sent to London to receave of sir Tho. Gresham tenn thousand pounds, which is suerly redy, to be carryed and brought to your hands, wherof I thought it not uncomfortable to wriyte to you. 19 Decembre, 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

[Cecill's Arms.]

I am not in helth nor ease, and I wish my self there wher I am sure my mynd quieted wold amend my unquiet boddy.

No. XXVII.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR.

I send you herwith the quenes majesties lettres, by which you shall see how earnest shē is, to have you to take care how to diminish hir charges, wherwith she semeth to be much greved,† and some of us have

* This gentleman was probably of the family of Aglionby, of Aglionby, and Drawdikes, county of Cumberland.

† Queen Elizabeth's œconomy was a remarkable feature of her character. On the present occasion, when a rebellion was raging in the bowels of her kingdom, it almost assumes the features of parsimony.

the more to doo to procure monny. And now, consideryng Mr Eg-
lonby is this daye departyng from London with x. m.^{li} (10,000l.) to be
brought to you, it wer well doone that you considered wher he might
arryve with it to mete with you, for which purpose it may please you
to advertise hym, who is directed also to wryte both to you and to
the three generals, at his comming to Grantham, to advertise you, and
to direct hym for convoye, which as shall seme good wold be sent to
Doncastre to mete hym. In my opinion, by accompt, it will cost hym
tenn dayes travell or he come to Doncastre. This daye my lord of
Sussex advertised me privatly of the intelligence he had, that the
rebells shuld be gon to Exham, with ther horsemen, and ther foote-
men. It were pitte but some of those rascalls wer hanged by
martiall lawe, but for the rycher wold be but taken and attaynted,
for otherwise it is doutfull how the quenes majestie shall have any for-
feture of ther lands or goods. And herof I pray you thynk, and tell
my lord lieutenant therof. From WyndSOR castle, the 20th of Decem-
bre, 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Here is some cursy made to lymitt wages for the gret officers of
the feld.

No. XXVIII.

Sir RAFE SADLIER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I do perceyve, by your lettres of the xixth of this present, that there
is xm^{li} (10,000l.) comyng hitherwards, to be delivered to my hands,
wherof there shalbe no more issued and diffraied here abouts thes
charges, then must of mere necessitie, where to you may be sure my
lord lieutenant will have good regarde. Assone as his lordship under-

stode of the flight of the rebells from Duresme,* he fourthwith, to ease her majesties charges, casshed all the northern forces of fotemen, saving vij^c (700) lefte at Yorke for the garde of the citie for her majestie, and ccc. sent to Hertilpole, under the leading of sir H. Gate;† and now his lordship hathe also taken order for the discharge of all those at Yorke, leaving Hertilpole yet for a tyme in garde. And all this saide numbers of fotemen have ben discharged without pay, uppon fayre words and sure promises, to have a full pay at my lords retorne to Yorke; wherewith the capitaynes and souldours helde them selfs well satisfied, and departed very well contented. His lordship also intendeth, for the more ease of her majesties charges, to discharge, as we may with suretie, som of the bands of horsemen, keping such a convenyent number abouts him as is requisite, so long as we lye onn thes borders, and for the tyme that execucione is to be don uppon the offenders in our retourne. Therles rebells, and their principall confederats, do lurke and hide themselves in the woodds and deserts of Lyddesdale,‡ but if they tary on the borders, there is good hope to have som of them or it be long. Therles have changed their names and apparell, and ryde lyke the outlawes of Lyddesdale, and we have to presume and suspect gretely, that they shall receyve som helpe and comforte of the lord Hume, and of the Carres in Tividale. The regent§ is com to

* When Sussex advanced to Northallerton the rebels retreated, or rather fled to Hexham, where their followers left them in great numbers; they themselves escaped to Naworth, and thence to Scotland; and so ended an insurrection very similar to that of which Shakespeare says,

Most shallowly did you those arms commence,
Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence.

† Sir Henry Gates, one of the northern council at York.

‡ There is a traditionary account that the earl of Westmoreland lay concealed for some time at his kinsman Fetherstonhaugh's house, Stanhope-park, in the wilds of Wear-dale, before he escaped to the continent. Although this is founded on mere tradition, it may be consistent enough with his after-flight to Scotland, but it was certainly returning above thirty miles S. from Hexham.

§ James earl of Murray, regent of Scotland. As the deliverance of Mary was an avowed object of the insurrection of the northern earls, the Scottish regent had hastened to the borders, to prevent their receiving succour from the queen's friends, among whom were

the borders, and Mr Cary I trust is with him, so that we loke howerly to hear from them, and there is no doubt but the regent will do all he can to gette those rebells into his hands; there is no feare but of their escape by the sea, either on the este or on the west coasts; order is given to such as have the charge here of her majesties shippes, to attende well on the este coaste, and if you have don any thing for the west coaste, it is lyke ynough they shall hardly escape by the sea. We have thought it best to remayn here for a time, because, although it be the more paynefull to us, the place being nothing pleasant to abyde in, yet we fynde it the most apte and convenyent place both to receyve spedie intelligence, and also to give specie directions and order for thes affayres.

I am sorry to understande by your saide letters, that you be not in helth; I pray God sende you helth shortly; and this busyness ended, I trust you will helpe me home. From — 24 December, 1569.

No. XXIX.

Sir RALPH SADLER to my Lorde Admiral

It may like your lordship to understande, that I receyved yesternight the quenes majesties lettres, the copie whereof your lordship shall receyve hereinclosed, by the which you shall perceyve how carefull and earnest her majestie is, to have her excessive charges dymynished, wherein her majestie hathe greate reason, and therfore wolde that your lordship and I might conferre together for the better execucione of the same; but forasmoche as we be so farre a sonder, that we can not have any personall conference at this tyme, ne yet do I see that it is moche nedefull, I have therfore thought good to write thes few words to your

comprehended the chiefs of the names of Hume, Kerr, Scott, Maxwell, and Johnstone, all potent border clans.

lordship, to signifie unto the same, that as I doubt not you will do all that you may to dimynishe her highnes charges there, the lyke whereof my lord lieutenant hathe don, and will do here. So it may please you to advertise me what porcyon of this x.m.¹¹ (10,000l.) which is now commyng, and is ordered to be brought to my hands, you thinke mete to be delyvered to Robert Carre, your treasurer of that armye, to thintent I may give order both for the delyveree of the same to him, and also for the bringing of the rest to me, for the diffrayeng of thes charges here, which I will not fail to do uppon knowledge of your pleasure in that behalf. 26 Decembre, 1569.

No. XXX.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have this daye receaved your lettres from Exham of the 22th, for the which, I hartely thank you, and am sorry that seing your chass hath bene so long and payneful; the vermin be fledd into a forrayn covert, wher I feare theves and murderers will be the hosts and mayntenors of our rebels, until the hunters be gone, and than they will pass to the seas. And yet, in my opinion, more can not be doone, than is by my lord of Sussex, who hath here hard constructors, * and therfor his lordship is beholding to your testimony, wherin suerly you doo honourably for mayntenance of truth, which I allwise have found in hym, and beside that, suerly, I think, without prejudice of any of the nobillitie. I know none endowed with better parts for a noble man, and a paire of the realme than he is, God assisting hym with his grace

* The earl of Leicester, probably, and his faction, who would not fail to buz into the queen's ear suspicions of his rival Sussex, founded upon his relation to Norfolk.

to employ it. My knolledg of his worthynes, only maketh me affectionated to hym, and certainly nothing els.

Mr Eglenby will be at Newark to morrow at night as he wryteth, wherby you may gess at what tyme he will be at York. And as I have wrytten befor, so I now wish that you wer ther about to ordre the treasure, most for the quenes majesties proffitt in discharging of her army. And I praye you procure some estymat of the charges on both partes, that I may rove to provyde payement. I pray you, also, let me know what is to be thought of captain Rede. From Wyndsor, the 25 of Decembre, 1569.

Yours at commaund,

W. CECILL.

No. XXXI.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have upon Christemas day at night, receyved the quenes majesties lettres, and also yours of the xxth of this present, by the which, I do perceyve, what care her highnes hathe to dymynishe her excessive charges here, wherein her majestie hath grete reason, and we here, have no lesse care thereof, then our dueties do require; I assure you my lord lieutenant hathe not neglected, ne omytted any thing, that was to be done therein; for as I have written to you in my former lettres, his lordship, assone as the rebells fledde from Duresme with their horsemen, fynding, then, that he coulde not use the service of his fotemen, did imediately, before he had any such order by lettres, or otherwise from tne quenes majestie, discharge, at the leest, 3 m. (3000) fotemen, and sithens he hathe discharged the rest, saving iij^c (300) in * Hertilpole,

* This place was probably garrisoned, less to prevent its being again seized by the insurgents, than to intercept any foreign succours which might have been directed thither by the Spaniards.

which, we thinke, may also be discharged; but that because you seme there to make so grete an accompte of that place, his lordship therefore doth forbere to discharge them, untill he may be advertised of the quenes majesties pleasure in that behalf. His lordship hathe also discharged some bands of horsemen, and daylie we do as we may with suretie devise to dimynishe thes excessive charges, and all this is don without money, and yet with faire words, and assured promise of pay when money cometh, they were satisfied, and departed well contented. What my lord of Warwyck, and my lord admirall do in this case, I know not, for we ar not together, ne yet did we mete syns our first meting at Shirborn, they have alwayes ben within one or two dayes journey of us, and if the rebells wolde have taryed the fight, then wolde my lord lieutenant have stayed till they might have ioyned their forces with his, but when the rebells fledde, his lordship thought it best to pursue them without delay, having then the way open to mete with sir Jo. Forster, and the garrison of Barwick, and so strong ynough to deale with the rebells in suretie. Now where, as the quenes majesties pleasure is, that I shulde conferre with my lord admyrall, and devise with him, how her majesties charges may be dymynished, and how this ten mⁿ (10,000l.) now comyng, may be distributed to both armyes, because his lordship and I, be farre a sonder, and for that, I know not how sone he meaneth to retourne southwards, I have therfore signified to his lordship, the quenes majesties pleasure, and have desired of him to knowe what porcion of the saide money he will require to be delivered to Robert Carr the thesaurer of that armye, for the which, I will take order upon knowledge of his minde, and the rest shalbe brought to my hands, to be deffrayed by warrant of my lord lieutenant here, according to her majesties pleasure. Wherin shall be used the best husbandry we can devise, with such respect to this service as aperteyneth to our dueties. And so referring the rest to our common lettre, to my lords of the councell, I wish you health and your harts desire. From Exham, the xxvijth of December, 1569.

No. XXXII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir Rafe Sadleir.

Syr,

I have presentlye receaved your lettre of the xxvjth of this monthe, and therewith a coppie of the quenes majesties lettre dyrected to youe, whearin yt apearethe how desyrous her majestie is to have her exces-syve charges demynished, which I thincke her majestie hathe good cause to be of that mynd. And therefore my lord of Warwick and I, havinge considered something for the easinge of her majesties greate charges, have alreadie entred into the cassinge,* and discharginge of a greate number of the bandes under us, as well horsemen as footemen, so farre as the money in my mayster Carr his hands our threasawrer will streatche unto, and with the healpe of one thowsand powndes more, which my lord of Warwycke, my lorde of Heryforde, and I have borrowed amongste our freinds in this armye, to be payd agayne at the comynge of the quenes majesties treasure now upon the way hytherwards. But now for lack of money, we muste be fayne to staye from discharginge any more, untill the treasure doo come hyther. We have sent to Yorke and Hull to borowe money, but I can not perceave that we are lyke to have any of theym. And whear you requyer to be advertised, what portion of the ten thowsand pownds which is nowe comynge, and ordered to be brought to your hands, I thincke mete to be delyvered to maister Carr our threasawrer, you shall understand, that I have spoken to him, to advertise you what some will suffyce to discharge this armye, which he will doo with as muche dilligence as he can possyble. But yt will aske a tyme to peruse his bookes, what preaste money, and other payments hathe passed him, and to what som the charges of a throughe paye of the armie will growe unto, with

* *i. e.* reducing.

their conducte money, which I dowpte not shalbe readye to be sent unto youe to morrowe. And shoulde have ben soner dispatched unto youe, but that his clerks with his books be presentlie at Ryppon, with the muster maister, discharginge and payinge of dyvers bands. And for that, her majesties charges dothe daylie grow, for lacke of money to discharge that parte of the armie, that remaynethe here uncassed, if it may please you, for the shorteninge of the tyme, to send hyther som trustie man of yours to conferre with mayster Carr, and to see his rekonyngs, and what money shalbe thought nedeful to be leafte heare, for the discharge of this armie, and thereuppon to cause master Egloinby, by your ordres, to delyver unto maister Carr so much money as shalbe nedeful for that purpose; and so to carye unto you the rest of the threasure that shall remayne. I thincke, in myne opinyon, it were the best waye, for the spedye discharginge of this armye, which otherwyse, by sending to you, and retorninge your aunswere hyther agayne, will prolonge some tyme in contynewannce of her majesties charges, wherof I knowe you have greate care to avoyde. I perceave by a lettre which I receaved yesterday from maister secretorye, that the threasure wilbe here about Satterdaye, or Sondag next. And yf you doo send hyther, in the meane tyme, for the purpose afforewrytten, I thincke yt will forther muche the easinge of her highnes charges. And thus with my moste hartie comendacions unto you, I take my leave from Burrowbrygge, this present Wedensdaye, at fyve of the clocke in the morninge, being the xxviiijth of December, 1569.

Your assured loving freind,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I humbly thank you for your lettres of the 24. And I now wishe you about York, to gyve ordre for the defraying of the treasure, for expedition of the paye. I pray you, if ther be no further cause for my lord of Rutland to abyde in those parts, counsell his lordship to retorn, and so I know he is disposed, and will do as my lord of Sussex and you shall advise him.

I dout ther may be some interpretation of my lord of Warwyke and my lord admiralls doyngs, as though they shuld preiudice my lorde of Sussex authorite, being lyetenant; wherein, I dout not, but as you see occasion, you will help to salve thyngs if any be past, and to stey things hereafter, I think they all will receve your advice in good part.

My lord of Sussex doyngs hath bene well reported by you, and so I thynk he hath deserved, otherwise he hath had some lack of allowance here, which will, I trust, dayly amend, and it is a good dede to hold upp any noble man when he meaneth well.

We ar never well satisfyed with generall advertisements. You must lett us know what is become of * Norton, † Marcanfeld, ‡ Tempest, § sir John Novell, || and such lyke. From WyndSOR castle, the 28 of December, 1569.

Your assured at command,

W. CECILL.

* Chiefs of the insurgents.

† Richard Norton, of Norton-Conyers Co. Ebor.

‡ Markenfield of Markenfield Co. Ebor.

§ More than one Tempest was attainted for this rebellion. Michael and Robert Tempest forfeited large property in the county of Durham, consisting of the estate of Holmeside, &c. v. List. of forfeitures. Michael Tempest of Broughton was also attainted.

|| Of the Nevills, I find in the history of the Attainder, Christopher Nevill of Hippleswell, Co. Ebor. Cuthbert Nevill of Willington, Co. Pal. both uncles to the earl of Westmoreland.

I wish some good example wer at Durham, to restore the Bible and Common Prayer by some generall assembly, to confound the rebells barbaroosness.

No. XXXIV.

My Lord Warwyk and my Lord Admirall to Sir RAPHE SADLER.

SYR,

We have presently reseved a letter, wherby we perseve that Mr Eglanby at the wrytyng therof, was at Toxford with the tresor, and as it semyth by the same, menyth to be this nyght, or to morrow, at Donkester, whyther we intend to send hym som convoy for his saff comyng hyther. We send you herewith a letter, wych Mr Eglanby hath directyd to yow; we do pray yow to send soch as one you thinke mete hyther, to take order for the delyveryng of so moche money to the tresorer here, as may dyscharge the armey under our charge, apou wych we only staye, for, if we had money, we wold not have one man in charge within this ij dayes. We have aunswer from Hull and York, that ther is no money to be had, bot only at York v cⁱⁱ (500l.) wych wyll not be here afore Saterdag, or Sondag, if it then do com. And here is amongst us none to be had, for we have lent all to the queenes majesties use, for cassying of the men that ar dyscharged. Thus hoping to here from you very shortly, we do moste hartely byd you fare well. From Borowbryg, the xxixth of December, at x a clock in the night, 1569.

Your very lovyng frends,

WARWYK,
F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXV.

Copie of my Lord Admiralls Lettre to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

After my hartie commendacions unto you. I do send yow herinclosed a note, under the thresawrer of this armie his hande, of the number of the men that are under my lord of Warwicke and me, wherein it shall appeare what charges the quenes majestie is, and must be at, for the dissolving of this army, as neare as it can be esteemed, as by the same note herinclosed, yow may better perceave; praeing yow, that yow will take order for the same, and to send answer with spede, for the easing of the quenes majesties charges. And thus I take my leave. From Burrow brigge, the xxixth of December, 1569.

SIR,—I wishe yow would send a trustie man of yours to se this money delivered to our tresorer here, for otherwise the charges of the men, they remaining yet in pay, will dayly increase, which I know yow do both consider, and are carefull of.

No. XXXVI.

Copie of Mr ROBERT CARRE his Lettre to my Lord of WARWYK and my Lord Admirall.

It maye please your good lordships. I have according to your commandments, travaled at Rippon with such skillfull auditors as I coulde gett, and we have perused the mustre bookes, for the number of the souldiors serving one foote, which are xj m. (11,000), as also of the number of the horsemen, which we find to be above m^{cc}. (1200.) And considered, therewith, what there wages for one moneth will amownt un-

to, the which we cannot estimate to be lesse then xiiijm. iiijc. xxxⁱⁱ. (14430l.) and, also, besides thes we find in the said muster books, divers gentlemen, with their servaunts attending upon yow, and all other the officers of the camp, with their ministers and servaunts, that be no parcell of the aforesaid number; and dyvers other chardges, as conduct money for the captens and souldiors. There cariages, the cariages of hir majesties ordinance and municeons, and other ordynary charges, which of necessitie, are to be allowed, we cannot estimate that lesse then vjm. ccⁱⁱ. (6200) will dischardge it; and yet we leave out of this estimate you lordships enterteynants, the lord marshalls, and the generalls of the horsemen. We have, with as greate diligence as possiblye cold, in so short time, made this estimate which we iudge to be with the least. The some of the hole, wherof, xxj m. xxxⁱⁱ. (21030l.) wherof paid to my hands viijm. c. lⁱⁱ. (8150l.) and so remayneth xijm. cccc. iiij^{xx}. (12480l.) to be paid for the dischardge. And yet with the lytell money that remayneth with me, and the v cⁱⁱ. (500l.) which I borrowed of my lord marshall, and the vj cⁱⁱ. (600l.) which I likewise borrowed of yow my lord admirall, and with your lordships credit of promis of paiment. The muster master hath discharged to the number of vj mⁱⁱ. (6000) and above, wherby the quenes highnes saveth ccⁱⁱ. (200l.) a daie, wherfore your lordships must earnestly write that the money may come with spede, otherwise the chardge will growe almost to cccⁱⁱ. (300l.) a day, which may be staid by spedie payment, for the wages that shall growe after this day is no part of our estimate. And thus leaving all thes doings to your honors considerations, I committ yow to God. From Rippon, the xxviiijth of December, 1569.

No. XXXVII.

Sir RAFF SADLER to my Lord of WARWYK and my Lord Admirall.

Please it your lordships. I have presently sent my servant this berer according to your desyre, both to receyve the quenes majesties treasure of Mr Aglionbye, and also to delyver such a porcyon thereof to Mr Carr treasurer of that armye, as your lordshipps shall thinke mete, so we may have also here a convenyent porcyon of the same, for the diffraing of the paye of suche forcis of horsemen and fotemen, as have been levied in thes north parts, and suche other charges as be incydent to the same, whereof hitherto we have made no full pay, but delyvered very small prests, for albeit my lord lieutenant dyd immediately after the flight of the rebells from Durham, fourthwith casse and dischargd in maner all his fotemen, yet did he the same without money, giving them fayre woords, with assured promise to the capteynes of a full pay at his retourne to Yorke, which must neds be perfourmed. And now his lordship hath also discharged dyvers bands of horsemen in lyke maner, keping onely cc horsemen and c harquebusiers abouts him for the tyme; that execucion of iustice is now to be don upon thoffendours within the bishopricke Richmondshire and Yorkshire;* and also we have lefte vj c (600) horsemen, and cc harque-

* This execution was uncommonly severe. According to Stow, there were executed in Durham alone, above sixty-six petty constables and others; and sir George Bowes, marshal of the queen's army, caused to be hanged some of the insurgents in every village, betwixt Newcastle and Weatherby, a district sixty miles in length, and forty miles in breadth. In this massacre, sir George Bowes probably had private, as well as public injuries to avenge. Upon occasion of hanging one Harrison in his own orchard, tradition ascribes to him a singularly savage expression of loyalty, "that the best fruit a tree could bear, was a dead traitor." Thus when the archbishop of St Andrews was hanged at Stirling, some one inscribed on the gallows,

*Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto
Frondebis, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

busiers, yet lyeng in garrison along the frontiers on the est, west, and myddel marches, under my lord of Hunsdon, my lord Scrope, and sir Jo. Foster, which, albeit, it be chargeable to the quenes majestie, yet have we thought it mete to contynew the same for a tyme, for any sodeyn enterprise in Scotland, eyther for the apprehension of suche of the principall rebells as be yet untaken, or for any other service upon the sodeyn, wherefore to supporte all thes charges afore specified, and also yours for that armye; if the treasoure which is now com will not suffice for both, it must then be indifferently distributed amongst us, so that both you and we may have to serve the necessyte, whereof, I doubt not, your lordships will have consideracion, and so wishing that thes matiers well ended, your lordship and I, also, were all where we wolde be, I pray God kepe you in helth, and increase you in honour.
30 December, 1569.

No. XXXVIII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAUF SADLER.

SYR,

I have receaved presentlie your lettre of the xxxth of this monthe, and touchinge the money brought hyther this daye, wherof you requyer to have a convenient portion, to paye suche men as are under my lord of Sussex, lord lieutenant there. I truste you have perceaved by the quenes majesties lettres, and from maister secretarye, by her highnes commandement, that I am expresslye willed, to discharge all this armie, with such money as is now sent, to be payed by your order, and the remayne to be imployde by you, towards the discharginge of the armye under my lord of Sussex. And to the end you shoulde perfectlie understand the charge which her highnes is at with this armie, and what somes must be disbursed for the cleare paymente and dysolvinge of the same, I caused Mr Carr the treasurer here to send you

a note of the same, as neare as he could, which, I trust, you have receaved, and therby you shall fynd, that the aunsweringe of all men here for their cleare discharge, wyll amounte to more money then is now brought by Mr Egleonby. And if there shalbe reserved anye greate som to be sent to you, for the discharge of those men under my lord of Sussex, I cannot see but the quenes majestie shalbe a longe tyme at a greate charge, with a great number of men to remayne here; besides, there exclamation to be discharged, havinge ben mustred, and redye to departe uppon payment. And surely I knowe not howe to healpe yt, whearin I wold gladlye take your advice. And in myne opinion, it is more easye to satisfye the number that are all in maner of one shyre, and not farre to resort home uppon promes, then those who be of viij or x shyres, some ij^c (200) myles distante from hence, and some almost iij^c (300) as those of the Isle of Wyght and other partes, of whom we are without redye payment, lykes to heare mucche exclamacion, and yet shall there be, as mucche as maye be don to restrayne all payments, that maye be by any meanes saved. Heare we are called on for the allowance of conducte money, and cariages for captaynes and their bandes, but suerlie there shall lacke no pollycie to abridge them, as mucche as in reason maye be to save her highnes charges. But they that dwell farr of, will hardlye be sattisfyed without conducte money; yet have we pleased uppon promes manye of the bands already cassed with some rewarde, mucche lesse then there conducte money wolde have amounted unto. And therefore you knowinge hereof, who can consyder of it, as well as any man, I truste will so consent to that which shalbe meteste for her majesties honour and sarvyce. But suerlye if suche som as Parke your servaunt speakethe of, shoulde be spared here, to be sent to you, there will remayne a great charge to her majestie to contynue here till money come. Now have I layed the whole matter before you, as well as I can expresse it, I dowpte not but you will consider of it, and determyne what is meteste to be don for her highnes best service and proffett, wherof I knowe there can be no man more carefull then you. My lord of Warwycke is this daye

gon hence towards the courte, being revoked by her majesties letter, in respect of his sickness, which he latelie hadd of the gowte: I am somethinge to my gryefe, commanded by the quenes majesty to remayne in these parts, when I have dissolved and payed this armye, untill I heare forther her majesties pleasure. But I yelde to obey her pleasure, hopinge it shalbe but for a short time. And I retayne with me ij or iij bands of footemen with shott, and ij^c (200) horsemen, which I thyncke is meante to be leaſte in this shyre withe my lord lyeutenant. I perceave by a lettre sent me yesterdaye from maister secretorye, that there is order sent youe by letters from the court, what shalbe payed for the dyatts of my lord of Warwycke and me, beinge lyeutenants, my lord of Heryford being lord marshall, and the reaste of the headd offycers of this armye, which yet remayne unpaid here for lacke of knowledge of her highnes pleasure therin, wherof I praye you advertise me with spede. And thus I doo moste hartelye wyshe unto youe as muche good, as I wolde to myne owne sealf. From Burrowbrygge, this laste of December, 1569, at xj of the clocke in the night.

Your assured lovyng frend,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XXXIX.

Sir RAPHE SADLER to my Lord Admirall.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have presently receyved your lettres of the last of December, and have conferred with my lord lieutenant here upon the same, who is well contented, both for the diminishing of the quenes majesties charges, and also for your lordships better contentacion, to leave unto your order asmoche of the money now brought by Mr Agleonbye as may be

spared conveniently, trusting that your lordship will consider, that the garrisons lyeng on the borders, and also such bands of horsemen as do yet attende here undischarged, which, hitherto, for the most parte of them never had a peny, can not lyve without money. And, therefore, where as we made certen accompte to have v m^{li} (5000l.) or at the least iiij m^{li}. (4000l.) of that money, if your lordship will nowe spare us three thousande, we shall make the best shifte we can till more com, assuring you, that for my own parte, I had lever be out of my lif, then be as I am cryed and called upon daylie for money. I dare assure your lordship, that vj m^{li}. (6000l.) besids that iij m^{li}. (3000l.) will not satisfie that is due to this armye. And yet if we may have to give every man somewhat, I trust we shall please them for the tyme; and besyds that we owe xiiij^c (1400l.) which we have borrowed of the towne of Hull, and of Valentyne Browne, which do call daylie for repayment. And in dede Mr Browne, of whom we have had m^{li} (1000l.) must neds be repaied, because it is money due to the garrison of Berwick, which be not a litle offended with him for lacke of payment, whereof I trust your lordship will have consyderation. I trust your lordship hathe, or this tyme, receyved my lettres with the copie of my lords of the councells lettres, conteyning the rate of wages for the lieutenants, and other principall officers of the armye, which I sent yesternight to your lordship. And so being sory that you ar stayed in this colde countrey, and yet, in some respect, not sory, because I trust we shall have your lordships companye, whereof I wolde be glad, *quia bonum est habere consortes in pena*. I commytte your good lordship to the tucyon of Almightye God. Primo Jan. 1570.

No. XL.

Lord Admiral to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I dyspatched letters upon Satterday last, to my lord of Sussex and you, for answer of his lordships letter for the plasyng of men in the garyson, and my opinion therein, wherof as I see good caus, I dyd think mete it shold be aloued of. And have, therin, written my mind to my lords of the counsell agreabyll to my lords letters and yours ; and I did wryt unto you my opinion, toching the payment of so moch money as shold make a clear dyscharge of all this armye for elevyatyng of her hynes charge. Wych, if so moch money as Park your servant declaryth shold be reservyd to be sent you, ther wold remayne a gret nomber of men to her majesties charge ; who, for the most part have farr hence, and unwyllyng to tarre. In this matter, I have wryten, at lengthe, on Saterdag last, loking ouarly for aunswer ; wych, as I think, by the faute of the posts, hath not soch dyspatch as it ought to have, wych I wolde wyshe were reformyd by order from my lord of Sussex and you ; the lak of aunswer dothe gretly hynder her majesties sarvys. I pray you that I may here from you with all possible spede. I take my leve from Borowbrigg, the ij^d of January, 1570.

Your assured frend to command,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLI.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I do conceyve of your lettres of the 26 and 28 of December, that my lord lieutenants doings here ar som tymes hardely construed amongst you there, whereof I mervaile, and am also sory for them same; for I dare boldely say, there is no noble man in Englande that, being in his place, coulde be able to make a more clere and better accompte of this charge then he is able to do afore indyfferent auditours; surely he deserveth not to have any matier of discomforte mynistered unto him, but rather to be cherished and moch made of, for in myn opynyon her majestie hathe such a treasure of him, as few pryncis have a greater of a subiecte. I doubt not but what soever matier shalbe misconstrued of his doings here, in thende trewth shall delyver.

What may be interpreted of my lord of Warwicks, and my lord Admiralls doings, as though they shulde prejudice his auctoryte, being lieutenant here, I can say nothing, they be all good noble men, and such as I love well, and surely I see none other but good lykyng and good agrement amongst them, orells I wolde be sorye; but this is trew, that where as my lord lieutenant here and I devised to make a grete profyte and benefite the quenes majestie, of the goods and chatells of many welthie offendours, and yet besyds to have founde meanes of rewarde to such as have well deserved in this service, there hathe ben suche an universall disorder in spoyle, aswell of the innocent as of the giltie, made by the southern armye, that we shall not be able to make so good an accompte to her majestie as we hoped to have done: and this hathe ben don whills we lay on the borders, by the disordered and unruly souldours, I dare say without the knowlege or consent of the

chiefetynes: but though the goods and chatells be gon, yet the houses and lands remayn, whereof the greatest accompt is to be made.

I have sent my man, because I can not go myself, to mete with Mr Aglionby, and to receyve the money of him, and thereof to delyver such a porcyon to Mr Carr, tresourer to that armye, as my lorde of Warwick, and my lord Admyrall, shall thinke mete, so as we here may also have a convenyent porcyon of the same, to supporte the charges of our northern bands; but as I do perceyve, all wilbe to lytle for the southern armye. I can not now sende you an estymate of the charges on both parts, because I lacke my man, whom I have sent, as before to Mr Aglionby, but I will sende it you assone as he retourneth, in the meane season you shall receyve hereinclosed so moche as I have from my lord Admyrall, touching the charges of that armye, and I thinke that half so moche, within litle, will serve for the other, whereby you may ghesse at both. Our number of horsemen was greater then theyrs, and therefore wilbe the more chargeable. I cannot tell what I may thinke of capteyn Rede, but am sory that he shulde give any cause to be suspected. I here of no matier agenst him but suspicion, other then capteyn Styrley, who was sent to me to Yorke by my lord of Bedford, lerned, at his being amongst the rebells, of one Christofer Norton,† which I am sure the said Styrley hathe declared to you, if he did therein follow my dyrection; and now the same Christofer Norton is taken amongst the rest of the rebells, whom I will move my lord lieutenant to have examined afore his lordship and me, and if we can pike any matier out of him touching Rede,‡ or any other, you shalbe advertised of the same. And so prayeng you to helpe me home assone as you can, I comytte you to Godds holie tucyon. From Duresme, the first of Januarie, 1570, with the rude hand of

Your owne to commande,

R. SADLEIR.

[*Arms, a lion rampant.*]

† Son to Norton, of Norton Coniers, a principal insurgent, of whom more hereafter.

‡ One of the captains of the bands in garrison at Berwick.

You shall understande by the copies of such lettres of my lord Scrope and sir Jo. Forster as be inclosed in this paquet, asmoche as we knowe, what is becom of the principall rebels, and if we had knowen it any soner, you shulde not have ben unadvertised thereof. The number of the presoners taken and remayning in the Marshalls custodie here in the castell of Duresme, ar of the meaner sorte, som gentilmen of meane reputacion, but the number is yomen and servyng men.

No. XLII.

My Lord Admiral to Sir RAUFE SADLEYR.

Syr,

For that I see daylie lettres passe by poste from my lord of Sussex towards the courte, and woulde gladlie understand some thinge howe matters passe there with youe, specialye suche things as is mete for me to knowe; I praye you, that from you, eather by your sealf, or by your appoyntment one of your clearks maye let me heare, by letter, some thinge of such newes as are from thence, whearin I shall thinke my sealf beholdinge to youe. And thus wishinge youe as well to doo as I wolde my sealf, I take my leave, from Weatherby, wheare I remayne tyll I heare of her majesties forther pleasure, the vth of Januarye, 1570.

Your assured frend to command,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLIII.

Queene ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

By the Queene.

Right trusty and wellbeloved counselor we grete yow well. Whereas both our armies lately levyed for our service, aswell under the charge of our cousine the erle of Sussex, our lieutenant in the northe, as under the charge of our cousine the erle of Warwicke, and our Admirall of England, whome we made our lieutenants for our armye levied in the south, are, by our order, appoincted to be discharged and onely certaine nombers of horsemen, and fotemen, to be reteined and distributed into garrisons in those northe parts, wherby we have no cause to continewe our severall charges, for the interteignement in wages of any of our lieutenants of our armyes aforesaid, or of any officers or ministers, to their said offices belonging: and yet we find it convenient that our said lieutenants shuld understande, untill what tyme we are pleased to continewe the allowance of their wages and interteignements heretofore to them appointed for their owne persons, as our lieutenants of our armyes. We wold that you (in whome, from the begynnyng of your going into those parts, beside other things, we reposed moost truste for the order in defraying of our treasure,) shuld in this sort following understande our pleasure for the allowance of them.

First, that the interteignement of the erle of Sussex, as lieutenant of the armye under him, shuld cease nowe at his returne to our city of Yorke, or within two or three dayes after, where he is to continewe as our president and lieutenant, without cause to be the headde of any armye. And that the interteignement of our cousine of Warwicke shuld cease the xijth daye after his departure awaye from Borowghbrig hitherward, whiche severall dayes interteignement we thinke reason-

able to allowe him, for his charges of his iourney towards us. And in like maner we are pleased to allowe to our Admirall, for the like number of dayes, to be ended after he shall, upon the dischargde of our army, take his iourney to returne towards us, from the said place of Borowghbrigge, where we perceive it hathe bene determined our army to be dissolved.

And this our pleasure we will youe to natify, as well to every of the saide partyes, our late lieutenants, as to Robert Carre, treasurer of our sowtherne army, or to any other that shall have cawse to make payments of our treasure in this behalf.

And where we perceive, by information from thence, that our treasure alredy sent thither, besides the imprests of money, and delivery of armure and weapon out of our stoore, will not serve to make a full paye for discharge of our armyes there, we require youe, that by your good meanes, all suche as have come out of these sowthe parts, and are to be discharged, may be as farreforthe paide and discharged out of solt, as our treasure thither sent, or any money to be borrowed in those parts for our use, may extend unto: and that suche as hathe served us in any of oure saide armies, and are resiant in those northe parts, and not ordered to be kept in wages; and suche soldiors also of the sowtherne parts, as are appointed to remayne there in garrison, may be treated withall, and reasonably perswaded to forbear to demaunde the payes due unto them, so farre furth as our treasure already sent cannot serve, untill we may send our further treasure thider for that purpose, wherein we wold have youe to understand our meaning to be, as farrefurthe as you can devise, that none be contynewed in wages but suche as are specially appointed, and thought necessary to remaine in garrison. And for those numbers like as we have heretofore, both by our owne lettres and our counsellors, ordered that suche reasonable numbers shuld be limitted, as might be thought convenient by a common consultacion and conference of our said lieutenants, whereunto we ment also youe shuld be made privy, so nowe we require you to take some speciall care therof, that the number be no greater then shalbe

founde nedefull, and that in the choice of the same, regard be had that such be appoynted in whom moost truste of service may be reposed, whiche (as we have already signified our opinion,) is to be reposed in the sowtherne souldiors, and captaines being not borne in those northe parts, except for the numbers that shall remaine upon the borders, it may be thought that none can be founde amongs the sowtherne bandes that can be so mete to serve there, as suche as be of the same countries: and in the choice of the captens, we have also cawsed our liking to be signified thither, whome of the said sowtherne captens we did best allowe of; and yet we did not meane to have any of the said captens to continew any greater numbers then is usually fitte to remaine in garrisons, althoughe somme of them had, as they were well worthie, greater numbers at this tyme appointed them, upon the levy-ing and conducting of our late armye out of the sowthe, then is mete to remaine in garrisons dispersed. And thus youe may perseive our meaning in these sundry things above expressed, whiche (because we wold presently avoid the trouble of sending many lettres,) we will that youe do impart to our said cousine of Sussex, and to our cousine of Warwicke, if he be not departed, and to our Admirall also, in suche sorte as the parts of this our lettre shall concerne any of them; wherein we doubt not but they will followe our directions, and employe themselves to the fulfilling of our pleasure and commandement.

And where we did, by our former lettres, licence our admirall to retourne from thence upon the discharge of our armye, and shortly after willed our secretary, by his private lettres, to require him in our name to staye there, after the discharge of our army, untill he might heare further of our pleasure, we wold have youe let him now understande, that upon knowledge of his desire to retourne to our presence, we are well pleased that he shall retourne at his best commodity, according to our pleasure signified to him by our owne former lettres. And for your owne retourne, whiche we dare affirme youe do desire, we meane to let yow knowe our pleasure assone as we may be advertised from youe of the full dischargd of our armye, which we doubt not but youe

will the soner hasten, to the intent youe might be revoqued from thence, according to the olde desire we knowe youe have to be at home, if youe be not employed in our service, and so surely we wold presently satisfy your desire, if we might spare youe from thence.

After we had proceded thus farre in this lettre, we had somme conference with our counsell, concerning the numbers determined to be in garisons, specially suche as are upon the three frontiers, not finding any cause of their contynuaunce, otherwise then we trust the wardens may answer with their owne powers, and so have we written to our cousine of Sussex, with whome we require youe to conferre, and advertise us of your reasons; and if youe shall now finde no iust cause to contynue them all, or no part thereof, so to order their discharge with spede.

We also perceive, that amongs certaine numbers of our sowtherne army lefte behind with our admirall, the mooste number are footemen, and but cc. horses, wherof one hundreth apperteyneth to himself, so as we see not that there can be any use to reteine any more of them in place of the northerne bands, but the cc. horse, and the numbers of ——— fotemen, because youe have reteined no moo fotemen, except it shalbe thought that somme part of the horsemen that shall remaine with our lieutenant for the tyme of thexecucion, may be torned into fotemen, and then they may be taken oute of the numbers which are yet remayning with our admirall, of which mater we require youe to conferre with oure lieutenante of those northe parts. Geven under our signet, at our castell of Windesore, the vjth of January, 1570, in the twelfthe yeare of our reigne.

To our right trusty and welbeloved Counselor, sir

*Rauf Sadleir, knight, Chauncellor of our Duchie
of Lancaster.*

No. XLIV.

Sir RALPH SADLIER to my Lord Admirall.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I perceyve by your lettres of the vth of this instant, that your lordship fynding the posts to passe daylie with lettres from my lord lieutenant here to the courte, wolde gladly understond how things go there with us, specially such as is mete for your lordship to knowe. For your lordships good satisfaction, wherein in dede all things which we knowe, or have to do here concerning the quenes majesties affayres, are mete for your lordship to knowe, and wolde to God you were with us here, that we might use your advise in the same. The frequent and often advertisements which of late we have sent to the courte, do partly concerne the maner of execucion of offendours, whiche is don, and to be don here, in the bishopricke, Rychmondshire and Yorkshire, by the martiall law, and of suche offendours as be of welth, eyther in lands or goods, as ar to be respited, of intent to be tryed by the lawes of the realme,* so as the exchets of lands and goods may be answered

* Agreeably to Cecil's advice, the wealthy rebel was reserved for attainder and forfeiture, while those who had no lands or chattells to lose, were executed without ceremony by martial law: The dreadful state of the country may be best conceived from the following letter of bishop Pilkington, of Durham, transcribed from the Lansdowne collection of MSS. by my friend Mr Surtees.

"JESU HELPE. Right honorable, acording to your lordships apoinctment, I have sent my man to know, bi your judgment, the quenes majesties pleasure for mie reparing homeward. Nowe mie lord Sussex is come, I trust some gudd order shall be taken for the cuntre; iff my person might doe anie gudd, I wold attend as your wisdom shall think mete, or apoinct me. The cuntre is in grete miserie, and as the shireff writes, he can not doe justice by anie number of juries of suche as be untouched in this rebellion, until thei be either quited bi law, or pardoned by the quenes majestie. The number of offenders is so grete, that fewe inocient are left to trie the giltie; and if the forfeited landes be bestowed on suche as be strangers, and will not dwell in the cuntre, the people shall be withoute

to her majestie towards her charges, whereof we have receyved a spe-
cyall charge from her highnes, and yet there hathe ben such an uny-
versall disorder of spoyle, aswell of thinnocent as of the giltie, com-
mitted by disordered and unruly souldours, as we shall not be able to
make accomte of the xth peny of that which is due to her majestie.
And as I understond the spoyle ceaseth not yet in Yorkshire, for the
sherif of the same, being her majesties ymedyate officer in such cases,
and having warrant and commandement from my lord lieutenant here,
to make seasure of the lands and goods of thoffendors for her majestie,
hathe signefied hither, that he is so menaced and threatened, by such
as have no good auctoryte in that case, as he dare not execute his of-
fice, which in dede is farr out of order.

The rest of our saide advertisements do concerne the principall re-
bells, which be in Scotlande, as that therle of Northumberlande is in
the custodie of the regent, and therle of Westmorlande, the countesse
of Northumberlande, Norton, Markenfelde, Tempest, Egremont, Rat-
clif, and others, as we be advertised, be receyved, ayded, and mayn-
teyned, agenst the regents will, by the lord Hume, the lord of Farny-
herst, the lady of Bucleugh, and the laird of Johnston, and other bor-
derers on the est and west marches of Scotlande.

Yesternight my lord lieutenant here receyved lettres from the quenes

heades, the cuntre desert, and no number of freeholders to doe justice by juries, nor serve
in the wars. What comfort itt is to goe now into that cuntre, for ani that wold live quiet-
lie, your wisdom can easilie judge. Butt God is present with his peple, and his vocacion
is not rassly to be forsaken, nor his assistance to be dowed on—his gudd will be done.
And iff I gos downe in displeasure, mie preses (presence) shall doe more harme than gudd.
The Lord grant you the spirit of wisdom to provide peace for this afflicted realme. 4 Ja-
nuarie. (No date of the year.)

"Yours ever,

" JAMES DUNOLM."

*To the right honorabler sir William Cecyll, knight,
cheefe secretarie to oure Sovereigne Ladie, the
Quenes Majestie.*

The bishop had incurred the queen's displeasure, by contesting the forfeitures on the
rebellion, *jure Palatin*. They were adjudged to the queen, *hac vice*, to defray expences,
&c.

majestie, by the which he is directed to sende sir Henry Gates,* with her majesties lettres to the regent in Scotlande, to require therle of Northumberlande being in his custodye, and the other rebells being recepted in Scotlande, to be delyvered to her majestie, according to the auncient treaties bytween Englande and Scotlande, for the which purpose sir H. Gates, being now at Rychmont to see execucion of justice don there, of such of the meaner sorte of thoffendors as are to be executed by the martiall law, is now sent for to prepare himselfe to that iourney, but I have som cause to doubt whether the regent can or will delyver the saide rebells, for though percase he have good will thereunto, yet I conceyve, by that I have hard, that few or none of the nobilitie, or others, of that realme, will agree unto it;† and surely it is thought that the borderers will never be induced to delyver them, excepte they be forced thereunto by grete extremitie, so as if the quenes majestie will stonde upon their delyverance, it shall behove her highnes, in myn opynyon, to ley strong garrisons on the borders, to thende that if those proude Scotts, on the borders of Scotlande, will not delyver the saide rebells, which they do kepe and mayntayne in their houses, they may be persecuted by her majesties forces, and so compelled eyther to delyver them, orells, by often incursions, to have their houses, lands and goods overthrowen, wasted and destroyed by fyer and sworde, with all extremitie. Therle of Westmorlande, and the countesse of Northumberlande, ar in the lord of Farnyhersts house, as it is certainly knowen, for therle hathe ben sene and spoken with by an Englishman,‡ who tells me the same, and the rest ar kepte secretely by thother borderers above named. And som suspicion there is that therles of Huntley and Argile, and all the saide borderers and others

* Sir Henry Gates was a person of considerable influence in Yorkshire. He narrowly escaped death, for being an adherent of the Lady Jane Grey, during the preceding reign. It appears, from a letter in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. p. 28, that sir William Drury was joined with him in this commission to the regent Murray.

† In this Sadler was a true prophet: the proposal of surrendering Northumberland was evaded by Murray, and that infamy was reserved for Morton.

‡ By Robert Constable doubtless, the traitorous spy of Sadler.

of the quene of Scotts faction in Scotland, will fourthwith revolte, and make som trouble to the regent, which if it com so to passe, is not, in myn opynyon, to be neglected by the quenes majestie. Thus have I signefied unto your lordship as moche as I knowe of the state of all things here, and as things shall further occurre worthy of wryting, you shalbe advertised of the same. God kepe your lordship in helth, and increase you in honour. From Duresme, the viijth of Januarie, 1569.

No. XLV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFE SADLEIR.

SIR,

I have no matter to wryte, but looking for some declaration of the estymat of the debt for both these armyes in those north partes, I can not, without it first had, obteyne any ordre for tresor to be sent thyther.

Yesterdaye the quenes majestie, when Christmas was doone, bestowed staves in this sorte; sir Fr. Knolls is tresorer, sir Ja. Crofts comptroller of houshold, but who shall be vichamberlan, or capten of the gard, I know not. I thynk Mr Kennady shall be tresorer of the chamber; sir Rob. Stafford is serjent porter. These thyngs was soddenly doone yesterday, *preter spem multorum*, because Chrismas was ended. From Wyndsor, the 8 of Januar. 1569.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

[*Arms.*]

No. XLVI.

Sir RAUF SADLEIR to Sir WALTER MILDMAI.

SIR,

Methinks it is long sythens I wrote unto you, but now perceyving that gret faulte is founde with lack of partycular and more specyall advertisements from hens, I am put in mynde of my slackness in wryting to you, which I have forborn because I knowe you be privie to all that hathe ben wrytten from hens; and more I can not write, being assured that whatsoever faulte is founde, nothing of any moment, or that was worthy the wryting, hathe ben here omytted, assone as it cam to our knowledge: what is wrytten by other particuler persons I can not tell, ne yet can we let men to wryte their fantasies at all adventures,* but for myn own part, I am loth to wryte any more then I eyther knowe, or am credibly infourmed to be trew. And on my faith I have not sene in my lif, any noble man occupieng this place which my lord lieutenant hathe, use more diligence, care and travaile, then he doth in thexecucion of the same; surely he is one of the most paynefull men, and in my iudgement so sufficient to execute this office, as I knowe not many lyke him in Englande. And, therefore, if his doings be misconstrued there, it is the more pitie; howbeit, as I am sure he shall not be condempned before he be harde, so shall you fynde him well able to answer to all his doings here, in such sorte as

* This again alludes to the suspicions entertained of Sussex, and more clearly expressed in a letter from the queen to the earl himself, 15 November, 1569, in which she plainly taxes him, "very privately, as a thing marked by herself," that he had neglected to prevent the rising, by securing Northumberland's person when he was at Topcliff, near York. Murdin's *State Papers*, Vol. I. p. 553. But if the earl of Northumberland's resolution to rise was as unpremeditated as is generally supposed, Sussex might well hesitate ere he took a step so likely to drive him to precipitate courses. In fact, it was the mere apprehension of arrest which determined Northumberland at last to take arms.

I trust it shall well appere that no fault can be iustly imputed to him for the same. You may do us grete pleasure here to helpe us with money, for it hathe not ben our lucke to have any good porcione of that which hathe ben sent hither. Of the last x m.ⁱⁱ (10,000 l.) sent by Mr Aglionby, we here coulde have but xv. c.ⁱⁱ (1500 l.), all the rest was to lytle for the southern armye; and I assure you vj. m.ⁱⁱ (6000 l.) will not discharge that which is due here at this present. Whereof I trust my lords, you, and others of the counsell, will have such consideration as thimportance of the matier doth requyre. 9. Januarie, 1569.

No. XLVII.

Sir RAFE SADLER to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

Albeit, I nede not to give advise, where I doubt not all things be well considered, and all daungiers forsene, yet my dutie and ze to the furtheraunce of this service, moveth me to have care thereof, and to wryte to you what I thinke of the same. You see that the heads of this late rebellion are in Scotlande, where they be receyved and moche made of, saving therle of Northumberland, who is in the regents custodie,* the rest, as therle of Westmorlande, sir Jo. Nevile,† Edward Da-

* This unfortunate nobleman committed himself to the charge of Hector of Harlaw, an Armstrong, or, as others say, a Græme, who delivered him up to the regent. There are two ballads upon this subject, in Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, besides others in the collection of Scottish poems, published from the Maitland MS. by Mr Pinkerton; so often had the earl's fate afforded a subject for the popular muse. The Historie of James the Sext, (Edinburgh 1804,) says, that Northumberland took refuge among the clan of the Scotts, that the regent's guard of horsemen besieged the house in which he lay, which the Scotts defended stoutly, and slew one captain Borthwick, but in the end, the house was surrendered, and the earl carried to the regent Murray, who was then lying on the Borders to intercept the English fugitives.

† Sir John Nevile of Leverseg.

eres,* Norton, Markenfelde,† Egremont Ratclif,‡ Swynborn, and Tempest,§ ar secretly kept and maintained by the lord Hume, the lord of Farneyherst, the lord of Buckleugh, and the lord Johnston, and other borderers, alongst the est and west marches of Scotlande. Therle of Westmerlande, and the countesse of Northumberlande, ar certenly knowen to be in Farnyhersts house, and the rest bestowed secretly amongst the other borderers afore named. And yet I harde that onely Swinborn|| was of late conveyed by one of the Armstrongs, a Scottish man, within ij myles of Donbreteyn: it is not unlike, but that they will all seke to escape by the sea. I am persuaded to thinke, that the regent shall not be able to delyver them, for that I understonde that few or none of the nobilite, or others of that realme will consent or agre unto it, and specyally the borderers will never be induced thereunto but by force; I understonde, also, that thearles of Huntley and Argile,

* Edward Dacre of Morton, third son of William Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and uncle to George, the last lord. He was attainted, but escaped abroad, and died in the 21st of queen Elizabeth. Or perhaps his brother Francis is here referred to, for both were engaged in the rebellion; as was their elder brother Leonard, although he did not rise in arms until the earls were suppressed.

† Thomas Markenfield of Markenfield, *co. Ebor.* who had been long an exile, on account of his religion, returned into England the year preceding the insurrection, which he greatly fomented.

‡ Egremont Ratcliff, brother to the earl of Sussex, escaped abroad, and was taken into pension by the king of Spain, who, at one time, allowed him a ducat per day. But he was at length executed by the Spaniards at Namur. See p. 43. *Murdin's State Papers*, Vol. II. p. 243.

§ Two of the name were engaged in the insurrection, Michael Tempest, and his son Robert. Their patrimony was Holmeside, an ancient manor, and the Leazures, near Durham, which fell to the bishop by their forfeiture, in virtue of an ancient grant of escheats to the see of Durham. Both these gentlemen fled abroad, and were retained in pension by the king of Spain.

Other authorities state Robert to be the father, and Michael the son. In the roll of forfeitures subjoined, we find the name of Michael Tempest of Broughton, *com. Ebor.* the present seat of a respectable Roman Catholic family of the name.

|| John Swinburne, probably of Chopwell, *co. Durham*, a Roman Catholic. He was attainted, and his manor of Chopwell fell into the hands of — Dudley, and others, by grant from the crown. The name of Swinburne, derived from the castle of Swinburne, is very ancient in Northumberland. The Swinburnes of Capheton have been possessed of that estate since 1264, and another branch was settled at Edingham castle, near Rothbury. Both families are represented by sir — Swinburne, bart.

and all others of the quene of Scotts faction ar mynded to revolte, and make som trouble to the regent, which, if they do, is not in my opynon to be neglected by the quenes majestie, leest it brede, also, som trouble in Englande. Now, therefore, if her majestie will stande upon the delyverance of her rebells, I see not but if the same can not be obteyned by good meanes to be used with the regent, (of whose confor-myte, for his own parte, I am well persuaded,) and with thother borderers afore named, which be, in dede, the recepters ayders and mayntenors of the saide rebells, that then force must be used to compell them thereunto. And in that case, it were expedyent, in myn opynon, that my lord lieutenant here shulde drawe to the borders, and lye at Alnewicke, and that my lord admirall, with such force as he hathe yet in pay, being, as I understande, xiiij^c (1400) harquebusers, and cc horsemen, launces, and pistolers armed, which ar more serviceable, then v^c of our light horsemen, might also repayre to Newcastell, and so to the borders as the case shall requyre, with which forces the regent may be ayded if nede be; and specyally if those proude Scotts on the borders, shall eyther refuse to delyver the saide rebells, or convey them away by sea, they may be with those forces persecuted, and by often incursions, have their houses, lands, and goods overthrowen, wasted, and destroyed by fyer and sworde, with all extremyte. Wherein no tyme wolde be lost, for if you give them tyme, in case any foreyn ayde be intended towards them, it will brede the more daungier and trouble, which, in tyme, may be prevented. Sir Henry Gates is now upon his depeche into Scotlande, upon whose dealing with the regent, according to his commission, it will appere what may be lokd for, concerning the delyverie of the saide rebells; and, thereupon, ye may the better determine there how to procede, but in the meane season, if her majestie mynde to stande upon their deliverie, it were good, in myne opynon, to contynue all such forces as be yet in paye, under my lord lieutenant here, and my lord admirall, untill you may see to thende of this matter. Thus have I sayed my poure opynon unto you, which I referre to your better consideracion.

When I had written thus moche, your lettres of the iiijth of this instant, to my lord lieutenant, arrived here, by the which I perceyve greate faulte is found with lack of particular advertisements of things as they fall out here, whereof I marvell, for I am moche deceyved if you have not ben fully advertised of all things mete to be advertised, assone as we had any knowledge of the same, and of that which wanteth I trust my lord lieutenant hathe now satisfied you at good length. 9th of Januarie, 1569.

No. XLVIII.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I have even now reseyved your letter of the viijth of this present, and do most hartely thank you for your good advertisement, and thow I was told to wryte to yow, to wryte som soch matter as was mete for me to understand, becaus I dyd daylie se letters pas this way from my lord of Sussex, yet I ment not to troble you with dyscors of all thes matters, wych it hath plesyd you wryte. Bot szure I can not this post, my sarvant being dispatched to my lord lieutenant with letters from the cort, have presently tyme to write at length, as I gladly wold. I will fill this paper, with my earnest request to you, to forder me to my lord lefftenant, that apou the considerasyon of the letters from her majestie, that it will pleas hym to advertise me what number of men I shall leve here, to be, by his lordship, apoynted in garreson in thes parts, wherby I may the soner depart hens to the corte. Wherof I have wryten at length to his lordship. And toching the spoyles in thes parts that you wryt of, seurlly at the tyme that we left the greatest part of our armye behind us when we went to Deram, ther was, as I here reportyd, moch spoyle, bot, I assur you, contrary to my lord of Warwyks mynd and myne, havynge gevyn order that no spoyle shold be. Bot that soch as were insensid of the rebells, shold, to the uttermost of ther pours, se it preserved to the quenes majesties use, and, thereof,

proclamasyon was made; bot I understand that gret spoyle ther was, contrary to my lords mynd and myne, bot none soch as in thes parts is reportyd. And for that you ar informyd by sir Thomas Gargrave,* that her is contyneall spoyle, and that he dare not exsecute his offys, this I am abyll to prove, that ther is none comytyd by the bands under me, bot it hath ben ponyshed and restyetwsion made. Bot my lord of Warwyk gave lysence to ij or iij gentylmen of good sarvys, to enter the houses of som rebells with comandment, that no wast nor spoyle shold be therof; and we doo, in dede, intend to be seuters to her highnes for the sayd gentilmen: and because apon the shereffs sendyng to thes plases to expols these men, my lord and I dyd wryt in ther favor, and I dyd, also, send since to hym in ther behalf, always minding not to interrupt hym in the quenes sarvys; wherapon he hath largely usyd soch spech, as of a man accountyd so wise, I have not herd the lyke, bot to say that ether spoyle or other dysorder that is comytyd here, is not to be provyd. For ther is proclamasyon set forth, not only that no man shold comyt any dysorder on payne of deth, but, also, that no man shall entermedell with any rebells goods, or to take any money, or other thing of them, bot leve the order of the hole matter to the shereff, and other her majesties offecers apoynted for the purpos. Seurlly I am abyll to prove, that sir Thomas Gargrave hath as evyll usyd hymself dyvers wayes, to discredit my lord of Warwyk and me, as lay in his power; besyds, that nether he being shereff of this shire, knowing of my being here by her hyghnes comandement, nether wold he ether com, or send to me, or apoynt any justys of peas, or any other to offar assystans or help of soch things as is nedefull to be had for me and my company. For here have I ben without any one of thes shere, that ever offeryd any cortesy or favour to me; havyng ben here, and at Borowbryg, thes xiiij dayes. I have troblyd you with my evill hand, and wher you wryte of my lord lieutenant his favor to me, I do thank his lordship, and seurlly I do bear hym gret good wyll, and

* The sheriff of Yorkshire, who had complained to sir Ralph Sadler that he was menaced and interrupted in his duty, of seizing the lands and goods of the offenders for the queen's use, by the disorderly soldiers. See p. 96.

redy to do hym honour, both for his own sak, for he that is a nobyll man, and one soch for the doing of sarvys, and honor to her majestie, and his contrey, as I wyshe in my hart there were many soch : and thus being half ashamyd, that I have troubyld you with many superflews things wryteyn herein, I take my leve from Wetherby, the ixth of Janewer, 1570.

Your frend to comand,

F. CLYNTON.

No. XLIX.

My Lord Admirall to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SYR,

I have receyved this last nyght a lettre from my lordes of the counsell, whearin is contayned manie things, which their lordships have willed me to perticipate to my lord of Sussex. And for that his lordship shall fullie understand the effecte of that lettre, I have sent the same to his lordship to thend, he maye efter consideracyon hadd therof, aunswear my sayd lords. And if his lordship thincke yt mete to have my opinion in anie thinge, that shall tend to the furtheraunce of the quenes majesties service, I shalbe readie to signifie the same, bothe to my lordes of the counsell, and to his lordship ; nevertheles, I have, or this tyme, written to their lordships, that I see no cause her majestie shoulde be at forther charge with garrisons, the state of things here, beinge as they are, and growinge towards quyetnes. But yt seemethe to me, that her majestie hathe a disposition to have some garrysons of the southerne bands planted in this shyer, as partlie maye appere by the lettre from the lords of the counsell, which I send, herewith, to my lord of Sussex. And towching the money broughte by maister Aglionby, wherof I am willed to conferre with you, I have more then v dayes paste advertised their lordships, that you demaunded by your sarvaunt

Parker, uppon good considerations, to have ben sent you fower or fyve thowsand pownds, and, yet, for that I sawe the armie here cowlde not be disolved, yf that somme, or any thing neare yt, shoulde have ben forborne, and therfore I dyd send but xv c^{li} (1500l.) and I dyd also wryte, that I hadd discharged the whole armie, saving xv^c (1500) men, which I reserved by her majesties commaundment, to be appoynted in garrisons, whear my lord of Sussex shoulde thincke mete with your opinion and myne. And towching the note to be sent to their lordships of the charges of the armie under my lorde Warwycke and me, I have cawsed the treasawerer here to send the same to their lordships more then twoo dayes paste, whéarin their lordships maye understande what hathe ben reseaved by him, and what payed, and what remaynethe, which remayne is a vearye small somme. And thus wishynge I were rydd out of this countrey, and at Standon * in my waye homewards, I take my leave with my moste hartie commendacions unto you. From Weatherbye, the ix of Januarie, 1570.

Your assured lovinge frende,

F. CLYNTON.

No. L.

Sir RAFF SADLER to my Lord Admirall.

SYR,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

What my lord lieutenaunts opynion and myne is, touching such garrisons as ar to contynew in these parts, your lordship shall understonde by our common lettre now addressed herewith to your lordship, and, therefore, I nede not to trouble you with the same in this my private

* Sir Ralph Sadler's manor-house.

lettre: indede I see no cause whie any garrisons should be layed at all; onles it be to ayde the regent of Scotlande, if he chaunce to have nede of helpe, and to chastise the prowde Scottishe borderers, in case they will nourishe and maynteyn our Englishe rebells maugre our teth, in which case we knowe not how the quenes majestie will determyn and resolve her gracious pleasure. And, therefore, have thought mete to contynew here som of your bands in pay, untill we shalbe advertised of the same from her majestie.

This morning I receyved lettres from her highnes, the copie whereof I have thought mete to sende unto your lordship herewith, prayeng you to imparte unto my lord of Warwick, and to Mr Carre your tresourer, so moche of theeffect of the same as doth concerne any of them. And so perceyving that your lordship is now upon your retourne southwards, I wishe that I might go post to stay you one day at Staundon, but syns I see that it can not be so, I must neds tary the good hour, which I pray God may come shortely. God preserve your lordship in helth, and increase you in honour. From Duresme, &c. xjth Januarie, 1570.

No. LI.

Sir RALPHE SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have this morning receyved the quenes majesties lettres of the vjth of this instant, by the which, I do understonde, at good lengthe, her majesties pleasure, touching the discharge of tharmyes, and the time appointed for the contynuanee of the pay of the lieutenaunts enterteynement, and also touching the garrisons to remayn in these parts. Theffects of whiche her majesties said lettres in as moche as concerneth the discharge of tharmyes were before the receipt of her highnes said lettres fully accomplished. And such as were of our northern bands were discharged without full pay, and yet contented with good words till

money com for their better satisfaction. All the money sent by Mr Aglionby was imploied upon the discharge of the southern armye, saving xv c^{li} (1500l.) as I have before advertised. I have now imparted the contents of her majesties saide lettres to my lord lieutenant here, and lykewise I have advertised the same to my lord admirall. My lord of Warwick being departed out of these parts x dayes past and more. And also I have signified to Mr Carre the treasurer of that armye her majesties pleasure, touching the time of contynuanee of their enter-tenment as lieutenants, to thende he may folow that direction in their pay according to the pourporte of her majesties saide lettres; and touching the garrisons to remayn, you shall understonde by our common lettres to her majestie, what is don therein. And, in dede, I see no cause whie any garrisons at all shoulde remayne, and contynue here, oneles it be to ayde the regent of Scotlande, in case his adverse partie do make him any trouble. And specyally to chastise the proude Scotts borderers, in case they will nourishe and maynteyn our English rebels in contempt of her majestie, which, in my poure opynion, is not to be neglected by her highnes. And, therefore, it is thought mete here to contynue some bands in garrison, as shall appere unto you in our saide commen lettres, untill we may be advertised of her majesties resolute pleasure in that behalf. xj^{mo} Januarie, 1570.

No. LII.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr Secretary.

SIR,

I send you herewith a long lettre which I received from one Robert Constable, servaunt as he sayeth to my lord of Leycester, as, in dede, I know by a good token that he was his servaunt, for he was one of them that helped to stele the plate. This Constable cam to me to Yorke, a litle before the armye marched from thens against the rebels,

and told me that my saide lord of Leyc. and sir Walter Myldmay had commended him unto me, but he brought me neyther lettre nor token from them ; he sayed he had promised them to go amongst the rebells, and to get what intelligence he coulde of their intents and doings, wherein he sayed my saide lorde of Leyc. and Mr Mildmay had willed him to use and folowe my direction, and to advertise me from tyme to tyme of his doings. According whereunto he did, in dede, by my consent, repaire unto the saide rebells, and advertised me ones or twice of som parte of their doings, being of no great effect. * But after the rebells were fled into Scotland, he cam to me agayn, and tolde me, that if I thought so good he would go into Scotland, and doubted not but he wolde lerne certainly where the saide rebells shulde becom, and by whom they were recepth, and percase wold worke som feate to be-trap som of them in such sorte as they might be apprehended and de-lyvered into the quenes majesties hands, whereunto I did anymate him, and tolde him, that if he coulde so do, he shulde do her majestie such service, as he might be sure her majestie wolde not leave unre-warded to his comforte. Upon this he hathe, in dede, ben in Scot-lande, and hathe had some conference with therle of Westmorlande, and others of the saide rebells, as you shall perceyve by his saide long lettre, which I thought good to sende unto you, because you may the better understande all that he hath don at length. And still I do any-mate him to procede, and to do all he can to bring himself in such cre-dite with the saide rebells, as therby he may be the better able to bring his purpose to good effect, which he hath promised to do, but what thende wilbe, God knowethe, who kepe you, &c. 12 Januarie, 1570.

* See Constable's letter, Page 62. It would appear that this unworthy person was not even faithful in his base employment of a spy.

No. LIII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

My humble and bounden dutie considered, may it please your honour to understande upon Thusday last, not taking any servant of my owne with me, I committed my self to the conduction of ij owtlawes, and came that night to George Pills house of the Myllhewgh* in Scotlande, neare to Jedworthe, where I was the Twesday sevensnight before, as I showed your honor; I caused my ij guyds to stay at the said house all Friday last, and caused George Pyll to ride with me that morninge to Farnhurst, † where I found therle of Wesmorlande not secretly kept, but walking before the gates openly, and seven of his servants standing by, and that I sawe after in the house, these are their names, Anthony Welbery, John Welbery, ‡ Thomas Watson, Henry Bidle, John Bidle, Tryps, and Schaw. And after my lord enquired of my news, I shewed him a bill of so many persons, and names as was at Durram, almost to the nomber of xiiij^{xx} (280), I told him there was almost as many moe at Hexham, and to come furth of the west contry; he red there names, and found many, that he was sory for, he axed me how many was executed, I told him none when I came from

* George Pyle in Milheuch, appears in the list of Border riders on the middle marches made up in 1597.

† The baronial castle of the lairds of Fairnihirst, very strongly situated on the banks of the Jed, between two and three miles above Jedburgh. See a description of the storm of this castle by Surrey, and of its recapture by the French under D'Essé, in Introduction to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

‡ The name of Welberrie is of respectability in the county of Durham. Simon Welberrie and Christopher Moreland had a grant of Castle-Eden manor from the crown, *tempore* Edward VI. Anthony Welberrie, perhaps he of the text. died seized of this manor in 30th of Elizabeth. If, therefore, the same person, he escaped forfeiture.

home, yet I herd of ij that therle of Warwik caused to be hanged at Durram for spoiling; then he told me if I had come but vj owres sooner, I sholde have spoken with my lady of Northumberland,* for the same night before, after midnight, she rode from Farnehirst to Hume castell,† which I understoode otherwise to be trew, and the lard of Farneherst rode with hir to within half a mile of Hume, that the lord Humes men resevid hir, and from thence the lard retorned to Farneherst again, my lord tould me how greatly he was beholding to the lard that frendly had defended him from the regent, and kept him ever with in iij miles of the regent all that while he lay in Gedworth,‡ how nere he was sought for, and how straitly he escaped yt was strange, and how that this day fortnight the regent had assembled to the number of viij^c (800) horsmen and footmen, and came furth of Gedworthe of purpose to search the house of Ferneherst,|| but so sone as he marched thetherwards, his company fled from him, by xx and xl, that ere he came within a quarter of a mile of Farnehurst, he had none left but his owne men, which were not ij^c (200,) so that he retorned to Jedworth, and saide that he rode but to view the woods: the next morning, iij owres before day, he assembled his men, and rode with thearle of Northumberlande towards Edenborowg, where he left Genyns in the custody of the treasurer, and from thence he rode with thearle of Loghleven,§ where he hath left him in sauf keping, and is

* This lady so often mentioned, was Anne, third daughter to Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester. Several of her letters are in Murdin's collection, by which she seems with earnest, but unavailing piety, to have laboured for the release of her husband, by flattering the pride, and assailing the avarice of the regent Morton, and Douglas of Lochleven.

† The strong-hold and seat of the powerful earl of Home.

‡ Jedburgh, from which Ferniherst is but two miles distant. The access to that castle, under the precipitous banks of the Jed, must have been exceedingly difficult, when the adjacent country was covered with wood.

|| A letter of 30th December, 1530, in the Cabala, p. 160, states, "The regent is gon from Jedworth to Edinburgh, and hath taken the earl of Northumberland and six of his men with him. Before his departure from Jedworth, he sent for the gentlemen of Twedale to come before him, where all came, saving the laird of Ferniherst, and the laird of Bucklugh, whereupon the regent rode towards them, but they hearing thereof, suddenly rode away."

§ A castle upon a small islet in Loch Leven, belonging to sir William Douglas, kins-

rid to Dumbertan, and is promest that the lord Fleming upon his coming, will yeld that castell unto him. I understand the same, also, by report of others. Also my lord of Westmorland told me that my lord regent had sent a gentilman, one Nesbett, somthing aged, having ij menn with him, to the quenes majestie, and had written for ij thousand pounds, to be sent by the said Nesbett, to levie souldiers to comme against the said earle and thother rebels; but if he take not good care, he wilbe stript of that money, for he is laid for, and ame* to be given furth of England of his coming downe, but I could not learne by whome; he would have had me to have prevented the enterprise, and to have taken it in England, but I tould him if I shuld mynt at it and mis, so should I utterly undo myself, and never after be able to do him pleasure. After much other vaine talke, not materiall, nor convenient to troble yow with, hering he said that he herd that the duke of Alva had in redines all the shippes that he maid of late, and had staid all the shippes that came within his reache, only to carry men and horses into England, I tould him truly I herd no such word; he said it was trew, for there was Scotts menn comed to Lethe, that had there shippes staid, an stole away on foot and tooke shipping in other places. At the last my lord asked me if I wold be glad to se Rich. Norton† and his sonnes Francis and Sampson, I said I would very gladly se them; he called my oste, George Pyll, and

man to the earl of Morton, under whose regency the unfortunate earl was delivered up to Elizabeth, and beheaded at York. Loch Levin Castle is yet more famous, as the place where the unfortunate Mary was confined, and from which she made her escape to lose the battle of Langside, and find a yet more severe captivity in England.

* Probably "*Aim*," a term of archery which had become proverbial. "To it, and we'll cry aim." Beaumont and Fletcher. It was the cry used by the by-standers while the archer was levelling his shaft.

† Richard Norton, of Norton-Conyers. This old and reverend gentleman bore the banner of the two earls, which displayed a cross and the five wounds of our Saviour. He had several sons, all of whom, excepting one, were engaged in the insurrection: so at least says an ancient minstrel. See Percy's *Reliques*, Vol. I. p. 295. He is commonly said to have been executed at York, with his sons, Thomas and Christopher; yet this seems to be a mistake. The following pedigree, which shews the connections of the aged patriarch,

bade him hand me to Cavers, the shreif of Tevidales hous,* to speake with Mr Norton and his sonnes, and so we rode thither: Cavers is from Farneherst v myles westward. By the way, as we rode, I tould my oste that the lord of Farneherst, his master, † had taken such an entreprise in hand as not a subiect in England durst do the like, to kepe any mann openly as he did thearle of Westmorland, against the will of the chief in auctoritie; he said that his master cared not so

avers that he died beyond sea, and in that agrees with the "State of English fugitives," which mentions *old Norton* as being in the service of Spain, and one of those who were consumed by "pure poverty." But, above all, the traditional account is disproved by the indictment of the famous Dr John Story in 1571, which bears, that he conversed in Flanders with Richard Norton, Francis Norton, and other traitors, who had fled beyond seas for treason, committed in the 12th year of the Queen's reign. See "The Life of Story," in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. III.

Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, Ar. at- || Susan, daughter of Rich. Nevill, lord Lati-
tainted temp. Eliz. and ob. ultra maria. || mer.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Francis Norton, = Aubrey,
of Norton Con- sister &
yers. coh. of
T. Wim-
bish, Ar.
Co. Line. | 2. John = Jane Morton.
3. Edmund = Cecily Boyn-
ton, left issue.
4. William.
5. Thomas.
6. George.
7. Christopher, attainted.
8. Marmad = Eliz. Killing-
hall.
9. Sampson = Bridget, daugh.
of sir — Bulmer, knt. | 1. Ann = Rob. Plomptor, of
Plomptor.
2. Mary = — Greene, of
Newby.
3. Amice = Rob. Byrmand, of
Knaresbrough.
4. Clare = Rd. Gorduck, of
Ribstone.
5. Jane = Richard, son of sir
Hen. Gascoine, knt, of
Sadbury.
6. Katharine = Fra. Bulmer,
of Twisdale, co. pal. Dur-
ham.
7. Joane = Salvin, of Crox-
dale, co. pal.
8. Eliz. = Henry Johnson,
son and h. of sir Thomas
of Walton, co. Ebor. |
|---|---|--|
- John = Bridget Stapleton, &c.

* Douglas of Cavers, descended from a son of the earl of Douglas, who fell at Otterbourne, was hereditary high sheriff of Teviotdale. Cavers is situated about three miles southward of Hawick.

† Sir Thomas Ker, of Fernihirst, was a warlike baron, whose power is here probably not much exaggerated. He was a steady adherent of queen Mary, for which he was exiled by the regent Morton, and his estate forfeited. In 1581 king James restored him to his lands, having then assumed the reins of government.

much for the regent as the regent cared for him, for he was well able to raise iij thousand men within his owne rule, beside that his first wief, by whome he had goodly children, was daughter to the lord of Grange, captaine of Edenborowe castell,* and provost of Edenborowge. This wief, that he married lately, is sister to the lord of Bucclewghe, † a man of greater power then his master; also my lord Hume, and almost all the gentlemen in Tevydale, the Marsh, and Lowdyan, were knitt together in such frendship, that they are agred all to take one part; and that the lord of Grange was offended with the lord Hume and the lord Farneherst, because they toke not therle of Northumberland from my lord regent at Gedworthe, and sent plane word to the lord Farneherst, that if the lord regent came any more to seeke him in Tyvidale, he should louse all his bulles, both the duke, the lord Heris, the secretary and others, ‡ he should sett them all at libertie that would come with all their power, with good will, to take his part; and by as much as I heare since, the Tevydale menn pretends to do thanoyances that they can to England, so sone as this storme is past, and meanes not to answer to any day of truce. I spoke with Mr Richard Norton, at Cavers; he was glad of my comming, and inquired of his sones William, Cristofer, and Marmaduke, and reioysed that they were living: he tould me all that disordered departure from Naworthe, and said that if the quenes majestie understood truly Mr Leonard Dakers§ part, from the beginning of their wofull entreprise unto thend,

* Janet, the first wife of sir Thomas Ker, daughter of the renowned Kirkcaldy, laird of Grange, bare him a son, sir Andrew Ker, and two daughters.

† Jean Scott, daughter of sir William Scott of Kirkurd, son and apparent heir of sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, and sister to sir Walter Scott, 17th baron of Buccleuch, a powerful chieftain, and steady adherent of queen Mary, in whose cause he was leagued with Fernihirst.

‡ The duke of Chatelherault, lord Herries, and secretary Lethington, had been seized at a conference by the lords of the opposite faction, and committed to Edinburgh Castle, then in the charge of Kircaldy of Grange. But as that gallant warrior disapproved of the persecution of queen Mary by the regent Murray, he was now understood to meditate setting at liberty those leaders of her faction, which the Borderers called "unloosing his bulls." This resolution he afterwards accomplished.

§ Leonard Dacres was the second son of William lord Dacre, and uncle of George, the last lord of that family, who being killed by an accident in early youth, the estate past to his three sisters. Leonard, who resembled Richard the Third in person and in ambition, re-

she would thanke him above all the rest, and tould me his part at large: he tould me that his coming away was so sodaine, that he brought away neither horse, aparell, nor money, but was glad to ride of a horse of his sonnes; nor his sonnes brought neither aparell nor money, so they are as bare as Joab: he desired my counsell what I thought was best for him and his sonnes; I tould him it was hard for me to give good counsell to him that had wrapt him self in so many great perills, and if ought shuld happen otherwise then well, thorow my counsell, he might blame me; he said that he would not howe ever it happened; then I tould him how great danger they were in, having nothing to abide in Scotland for being betrayed, and to go over sea into any other countrey was most dangerous of all, booth for shipwrack or hapening within the danger of the quenes shippes that kepes the narrow seas, and if fortunéd there to arrive in a strange countrey, wantinge the language or wherwith to sustayne them, it were to grevus to thinke on; but if there case were mine, I tould him I would surely ride into England, and lye secretly with somme speciall frend, that wold kepe me as his owne lif; and I would make an humble submission in writing, craving nothing but pardon for lif, and send by my wief. If it would be graunted I would present my self, and after, by promes of gifts, make frends to sue for libertie and restitution of lands; herin were some hope; or if I could get no grant of lif, I had rather submit my self and stand to the quenes

solved to dispossess these co-heiresses, and seize on the extensive estates of his nephew. With this view he entered into the schemes of the two earls, but seems to have declined to join them when he saw their disorderly retreat from Hexham to Naworth, the baronial castle of his family. Very soon after, however, he took arms, and fought a sharp skirmish with lord Hunsdon, who marched to suppress his rising. After much gallantry displayed in the action, he was forced to fly into Scotland, and escaped from thence abroad, where he died without issue in the 23d of Elizabeth. His conduct about this time was very ambiguous; for an advice from Hexham (or Lyexham, as it is there misprinted), 22d December, 1659, states, "The earl of Cumberland, lord Scroope, and Mr Leonard Dacre, have shewn themselves very honourable and diligent in their service, at the rebels entering into the west marches, and upon the scaling of the rebels, there be great numbers of them taken there." *Cabala*, p. 160.

mercy, then to be brought in perfors. He liked well of this, if he might be sure of pardon for lif, and called his son Francis,* and tould him what I said I would do if I weare in there case, and he liked it as well, and said if they could get sauf into Yorkshire, they might be kept secret, if it were for seven yeare, and not to cost them a groat; but all therè doubt was wheare to get a sure guyde. I promest to get them ij guides that would not care to steale, and yet they would not bewray any man that trusts in them for all the gold in Scotland or France.† They are my guydes and outlaws, if they would betray me they might get their pardons, and cause me to be hanged, but I have tried them ere this. They asked me if I durst receipt them for viij or x daies; I tolde them if they durst venture to come my wief should receave them, and be there keper, and I would se them often every day, and if any thing chaunced otherwise than well with them, I was sure, for there being in my house, to hange cheefe by cheefe‡ with them, so that I could do no more but put my lif in perill for their pleasures: the olde man asked me howe sone I ment to retorne again; I tould him so sone as all were hanged that shuld be hanged, or that I could get any newes worthie bringing that might chance within viij dais; then he saide his son Francis and he wold occupy them selves in framing a supplicatione to the quenes majestie; I tould him it was clere best, for I tould him there was no hope of alteracion of the state in our daies, for the quene was like to over live us all, and for any conquest to be made by any forrain princes, he understode better then I how far unlikly and hard it is to compas, to any good effect: they granted it to be true; then Frances Norton

* Francis Norton, old Norton's eldest son, is in the ballad said to have advised his father against joining in the rebellion, and to have gone with him unarmed. He certainly saved some part of the family estate, so probably had been able to make his peace by some favourable circumstances in his case.

† It is surprising that while Constable gave a character of these two poor bandits, such as they probably very well deserved, the contrast between his own part and theirs did not strike him with compunction.

‡ *Chef par chef*, a Gallicism.

praid me, that I would send word to his sonn, or to his uncle William, that one of them might cause his servant, one Dowthwell, to come to my house, and to bring with him somme money, and that I would cause him to be safly conveyd to him; I promest so to do. Old Mr Norton asked if I understood of his wief; I said no. I asked how all the rest of the gentilmen did that escaped; he said that Mr Egremond Ratcliff, sir John Nevell, John Swynburne, Mr Markinfield, was receaved in Branksum,* the lard of Buckleugs house; and he herd say that Mr Cristofer Nevell, Mr Cutbert,† Robert Tempest, and George Staffurth, remains either there, or of the lord of Bucklewgs putting there abouts; and that Robert Collingwood, Robert Carr,‡ and Rauf Swyno, remaynes at Hume, with my lady Northumberland, and that Tristram Fenwyke, Robert Schafto, Thony Ogle,§ and another whose name I cannot remember, are receaved with the lard of Bedrowell,|| at Bedrowll. Thus I tooke my leave and departed. I was benighted before I came to Farneherst: by the way, in the dark, we met with the lard of Bedrowll, and iij in his company; my oste spake with the lard, and tolde me who it was; the lard being of my acquaintance came to me and offred me great frendship, that I shulde use his house as his owne, thinking that I had fledd in case, as others ware; I thanked him, and offred him any frendship that might lie in me to do, and declared that my coming was in secret manner, to se wherin I might pleasure my frends there in extremitie, and gave him thanks for his

* Branksome, or Branhholm Castle, the residence of the barons of Buccleuch, is situated about three miles above Hawick, on the banks of the Teviot.

† Christopher and Cuthbert Nevilles were uncles of the earl of Westmoreland. They are both in the list of attainder.

‡ Collingwood, Car, and Shaftoe, are all names of respectability in Northumberland; but I have not been able, even with the assistance of Mr Surtees, to identify the individual fugitives. Robert Collingwood and Ralph Swinburn were taken in east Teviotdale, and delivered to the regent. *Cabala*, p. 160.

§ There is a Henry Ogle among the attainted persons. He may have been a younger brother of the Chapyngton family, who were nearly related to the lords Ogle.

|| The laird of Bedrule was chieftain of the powerful and once numerous clan of Turnbull. His castle of Bedrule was situated on the banks of the Rule-water, a stream which falls into the Teviot, above Ancrum.

frendship shewed to Tristrame Fenwyk; * so he told me that he was there at hand. Tristram and I spake together; he asked me of his wief, and what was becom of his goods. I told him that my lord lieutenant had granted it to Mr Care, but at the sute of my son in lawe, William Fenwyk, and Michell Fenwyke,† to my lord warden, my lord warden procured my lord lieutenants lettre to Mr Carye, promessing him a better thing, so that he might give that at my lord wardens sute to William Fenwyke and Mychell, and that my son in lawe was rydd to Durram, with my lord warden, to sue for my lord lieutenants warrant to the stay thereof, with such like talke, to no purpose to troble you any further; so I left Farneherst and went to my ostes house, where I found many gests of dyvers factions, some owt-lawes of England, some of Scotland, some neighbors therabout, at cards; some for ale, some for plake and hardhedds; § and after that I had diligently learned and enquired that there was none of any surname that had me in deadly fude, nor none that knew me, I sat downe and plaid for hardheads emongs them, where I hard *vox populi* that the lord regent would not, for his owne honor, nor for thonor of his countrey, deliver thearls, if he had them bothe, unles it were to have there Quene delivered to him, and if he wold agre to make that change, the borderers wold stert up in his contrary, and reave both the quene and the lords from him, for the like shame was never don in Scotland; and that he durst better eate his owne luggs then come

* Gerard Fenwick, sixth son of John Fenwick, (chief of the name, and common ancestor of the Fenwicks of Wallington, Bilchheld, Stanton, Kenton, Whitton, East Haddon, &c.) had a younger son, Tristram Fenwick, probably the person here mentioned. If so, he did not perish in the rebellion, but founded the family of Brinkburn, in Northumberland. His grandson, Col. George Fenwick, was a violent Parliamentary, in the civil wars of Charles I.

† The traitor Constable, by marrying Dorothy, daughter of sir John Widderington, and relict of ——— Fenwick, was father-in-law to William Fenwick. Michael Fenwick, of Stanton, although he seems to have kept out of the rebellion, was brother to Tristram, and probably nearly connected with Constable, for in 1569 he left him and lady Fenwick his executors.

§ A small kind of coin. The description of this revel of outlaws is extremely lively.

again to seke Farneherst; if he did, he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtray edge. Hector of Tharlowes* hedd was wished to have ben eaten amongs us at supper. The next day, which was Satterday last, I caused my oste to ride with me againe to Farneherst; my lord of Westmorland then told me that my lord of Northumberland fell clere out with him, for setting me at libertie when I was brought to him at Branspathe, and that they could never agre after. He enquired whie he desired so mucche to have me stayed, but thother wold not for pevyshnes tell him. I told him I knew no cause whie he shuld bere me grudge, except it were for complaining to the privy counsell for his wrongfull deteyning my soldiers wages and myne, after the death of Quene Mary which I did not but by his commaundment; and after I had framed my bill I desired him to peruse it as he did. I prayed him to graunt me my due, and I would not complaine, and got my lady to move him; he wold not be perswaded but prayed me to put it in; and if your honor remember, I had your lettre to the privy counsell from Berwick, I thank you, in favor of my iust sute; but although I obtayned not my desire, I proved him a manifest lyer at that time before my lords of the privy counsell to his great dishonor by his owne

* This Borderer delivered up Northumberland to the regent Murray, when he fled to him for protection. Hence his name became so infamous, that to take Hector's cloak passed into a proverb for betraying a friend. A satire against Morton and Lochlevin, who completed the work of treachery, by surrendering Northumberland to the vengeance of Elizabeth, says, that Hector of Harlow pretended he was obliged to deliver up the earl to redeem the pledge which, as a Borderer, he had given for good behaviour. See Pinkerton's Poems from the Maitland Ms. p. 232. The name of this traitor seems to have been Græme, and not Armstrong, as is generally alleged; at least he appears in a list of that surname residing upon the Debateable Land, in 1695. His treachery was universally detested by the Borderers.

The earls came first into Scotland under protection of the laird of Black Ormiston, one of the murderers of Henry Darnley. The Elliots rose against them, under their chief Martin Elliot, of the Preakin Tower, and both parties were prepared to fight, when Elliot told Ormiston he would be sorry to enter into deadly feud against him by bloodshed, but he would lodge an information against him to the regent. Thus the earls found themselves obliged to leave Liddisdale, and to separate. The earl of Westmoreland exchanged his rich armour with Jock of the Side, a noted Borderer, at whose tower they left the lady of Northumberland. See *Cabala*, p. 160.

hand writing. Since that time he asked me forgiveness, and confessed to me that he had done me wrong, and prayed me to forget and forgive it, and he wold be my frend ever after ; I was content so to do, but now to see the rancour of his hert, I cannot conceave what his meaning shuld be unlesst he ment to hang me* for that olde grudge. I pray God forgive him. After this the erle of Westmorland asked me if Mr Hodshon of this towne were in troble : I told him no, nor nothing said to him as far as I knew. Then I praid my lord to consider that miserable estat that he had lewdly brought him self to, and to seke out the best way howe to recover him self again, and not to run wilfully upon his utter distructione to the overthrowe of his house, which hath ben honourable and of great antiquite, and never spotted till now by this his woful fact ; he looked at me, and tooke all patiently that I spoke, the teares overhaylled his cheks abundantly. I could not forbear weping to see him sodenly fall to repentance, neither of us could speak to another of a long time, at last he wyped his chekes, and praid me to follow him ; he went to his chamber in the tower, and commaunded his men furth, and lockt to the dore him self, and thus he began : Cosen Robert, you are my kinsmann nere comed furth of my house, and one whome I derely love and trust. I must confess I have as lewdly overshott myself as any man could do ; not the les, I pray you let me have your counsell what way you think were liklyest for me to obtaine my pardon and favor of the quenes majestie. Then he told me that my lady of Northumberland had receaved a favorable lettre and a frendly from my lord of Hunsden to this effect, willing her to come to him and she shuld have all the friendshipp he could shew her, and willed her not to doubt, that the quenes majestie, who never was cruell to any, would begin to shew hir crueltie upon hir, being a gentlewoman ; howbeit he would not promes hir pardon, becaus he understood the quenes pleasure therin, and my lord thought great unkindnes, saying, that

* Which consummation Mr Robert Constable richly merited. It is very diverting to find this rascal assuming the language of an innocent and misused man, while he was practising the vilest treachery.

neither my lord lueitenant, nor my lord of Hunsden, nor my lord of Rutland, nor no noble man, nor frend that he hath in England, never once wrote to him, nor sent him any message yet since he came into Scotland; I told him it was no marvell, for that had ben as much as thare lives were worthe, even as is for me if it be knowen that I re-
 paire unto him. Then he praid me to give him my advice playnly and frendly, so I tould my advice as neare as I could to the same effect, as I did to Mr Norton in every degree. In thend he consented to follow my advice, and asked me if I durst say a message from him to my lord of Hunsden: I told him it grudged me so to do, for such a toy might take my lord Hunsden, that he wold hang me for my labor; * howbe-
 it, I would not refuse to do any thing wherin there might be any hope to escape my lif, so that my travell might save his lif, and advance again his house. Then he asked me if I durst carry him a token to my lady his wief; I promest if the lords and gentilmen were gone from Durram I durst do that; he tooke a litell ring of his finger and praied me to deliver it to hir which she knew, and to will hir to take no care nor thought for him, for all his care was for hir and his children, which greved him much more to consider the misery that he left them in, then any danger that colde happen to his own body, and that he hoped by Gods grace to recover the quenes favor again for all this, and to will my lady to send by me one of hir best iuells in a token to my lady Carr of Farneherst, and the farest gelding she could get to the lard, becaus my lord puts them to great charges, and they will take no money. Also that I shuld learne of my lady whether she thought my lord of Hunsden his frend as he was before, or not; and at my retorne though he could not well endite, as he said, yet with my advice he would either write a lettre to the quenes majestie, or to my lord Hunsden, to be a meane for him unto hir highnes; and he hath devised to send the lettre to my house, when I shall be away with a Scott that must deliver it to my weif and go his way, and when I come home, to take witnes

* The rough character of Lord Hunsdon has already been noticed.

how it come to my hands, and so to ride in post to deliver it; and when all is quite, he saith he will come to my house, if I dare receave him, and in that I have answered as I did to Mr Norton.

Sir, although this be a trayterous kind of service, that I ame wayded in, to trap them that trust in me, as Judas did Christ; yet to extinguish such inconvenience as by their libertie may rise, that so laity shewed them selves enemies both to God and to our native quene, neither kindred nor affection shall withhold me to allure them to come to submission, or otherwise to abide the quenes mercy, wherein I trust I may do bothe God, the quene, and my lord my master, faithfull, true, and acceptable service. My hope is, if God will give me grace, to bring it so to pas, that the quenes majestie wilbe mercifull to pardon their lives, otherwise if it shuld turne to the effusion of their blud, my conscience wold be trobled all the dais of my lif. Sir, if you thinke it good that I deliver my lords token to my lady, and say his message, and also send for Francis Norton's mann for keeping my creditt with them, let me have your counsell therin. I pray you if you thinke it not good, I can honestly excuse myself by my lord lieutenants being at Durram. I had almost forgot another message that my lord sent after me by Thomas Watson, that my lady should send for the cyphers that is in William Lees custody, and in Cristofer Ratcliffe, two of his servants, and to send the same to my lord with me: whether it be cyphers in dede, or it hath some other meaning I know not. Sir, I came fourth of Scotland of Sondag, all night last, the extremest day for wind and snowe that ever I rode in: we were almost utterly confounded and driven furth of our way dyvers times upon the fall that we knew not where we were, and yet praised be God, at last within night, gat home all befrossen; I have spoiled my best gelding that I have refused xxx^{li}. (30l.) for within this half yeare; I feare he will never do me more servis. I may be ashamed of my sediciousnes and rudenes herein, whereof I crave humble pardon; but I thought it better to troble you with my long lettre, then to be sene repaire to my lord lieutenants, or you, to my discredit, or to omitt any thing that hereafter may be laid to my charge and touch me

in lif. Sir, if my lord of Westmorland and Mr Norton* be altered of their good minds at my retorne, yet it is not unpossible to overreache them and all thother rebels. The lord of Farneherst is both poore and covetus; there is one that is as covetus as he, that may perswade him to do any thing for profitt, that he will say he may do lacles; now what a golden hooke may do to a covetus man if it be right laid, possible he will bite, and it may katche him, besides that the lard will sone be wery with the cost he is at, and some part thorowe the jelousie he is entred in withmy lord of Westmorland and his new wanton lady. I dare undertake nothing, becaus all such things is uncertaine, but I wold think to do more good with a thousand pound or les, to be wisely bestowed that way, then can be with v thousand, to be bestowed of my lord regent, or with x thousand mens strengthes, to hunt them furth of Teydale. Of Monday I cam to Hexam, and spake with my lord Warden, not knowing that you were so nere; on Tuesday night I came hither, and ever sins I have ben troubled with writing this long lettre. If they shold come to my poore house, I must desier that it may be no offence for me to helpe them, and that my house may be to them to a sentuary; but in there comming and going I wilbe plaine with them, they shall take there own adventure. Sir, I pray you even for the love of God, let none se this lettre but my lord lieutenant only, whoe very discretly and honourably hath remitted his grudge of displeasure, and promest to be my good lord hereafter. Or this kind of service were knowen to any more except to the quenes majestie, whoe I should have

* It would seem that, fortunately for themselves, neither Westmoreland nor Norton trusted the hospitality of Constable, but fled abroad, and commanded a regiment of English fugitives, in the Spanish service. Camden thus mentions his death in 1584:—

“Within the compass of this year, Charles Nevil, that traitorous rebel against his prince and country, the last earl of Westmoreland of this house, ended his life obscurely in a miserable exile. From this family, fruitful in nobility, there sprung (besides six earls of Westmoreland) two earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquis Montacute, a duke of Bedford, a baron Ferrers of Ousley, barons Latimers, barons Abergavenny, one queen, five duchesses; to omit countesses and baronesses, an archbishop of York, and a great number of inferior gentlemen.”

named first, or to my lord my master, or to sir Wa. Myldmay my directors, who can and will kepe my counsell according to their honourable promes, I had rather then this my doing were knowen to the world, forswear for ever not to come within this realme, or rather to be torne every joint from other. Sir, I hyred one to ride in Liddesdale to bring me true word what gentelmen is remayning there, or with whom they are receaved. I also hired my oste George Pill to ride into Tyvedale and into the marshe and Lowdyan, and to bring me knowledge, not upon report, but of so many as he can se; gyving creditt to reports made trouble you with some lies in my last lettre, wherfore I humbly aske pardon. Sir, if you have not advertised my lord my master, and sir Wa. Myldmay of my proceedings, I have so farr neglected my dutie, that never writ unto them sins they commaunded me to serve, in hope of your honors advertisements. If you will have me to travell into Scotland again, I must desier your lettre to my lord warden, to grant me oversight of fixd owtlawes, such as I shall name, with his pasport for to travell with me where they like till Easter next, and to be at my commaundment if they either steale or reve; in the meane time I will undertake to deliver them to my lord warden, I trust to make their service to deserve their pardons: I dare not ride over the fells without more company, for I was in great perill meting a company of Scotts theves on Thursday at night last; as you direct me so will I do. If I nede not to ride into Scotland, I pray you procure me a commission for ij post horses, and guydd to the court, and from thens to London, for I have weightie sutes in law to be tried; my money is spent, and I cannot beg as other do. I have attempted to borow a c^u (100l.) in this towne upone suerties, or upon pawne, but I think I shall get not a grote.* Your honour may credit this bearer with cariage of your lettre if you like to write to me; but I pray you send no message otherwais, because he loveth good ale; he hath served me this xx

* This broad hint, with that concerning the spoiling of his best gelding, plainly shew what sort of remuneration Mr Constable expected for "his faithful, true, and acceptable service to God, the queen, and my lord, his master."

yeres, and hath a humble sute to my lord lieutenaunt for the lif of a poore man his nere kinsman: wherefore I pray you grant him your favorable help, and thus I wish you most prosperous health, with daily increase of much honour long to continew. From Newcastell this xij of January, your honors to commaund even unto death,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

No. LIV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

I hartely thank you for advertising me of the estimate of the quenes charges of her army there in the north, for lack wherof I could not soner provide to send you any money. And now esteming the certainty of that which is due to be about v mⁱⁱ. (5000l.) I have procured to send thither the some of six thousand to this end, that vm. (5000l.) might be brought to you, and one thousand to be left with my lord admirall, or Mr Carr, if my lord be come away, to defray such charges as may happen to have growen by the continuance of certen bandes stayed there in wages by my lord admirall. And if there shall be no cause of the spending of the said wholl thowsand pound, the remayne shalbe also delivered to you.

To morrow the money shall be ordered to be delivered to Chester the herauld, who will make all the hast possible he can; and because I know not to what place you wold have him come, I have directed him towards York; and yet if you will have him come to any other place, by your lettre to be directed and left with the post at Doncaster he may be directed as you shall advise. I have moved her majestie to licence you to returne, wherwith she is content upone the payment of this treasure; and therof if I can, I meane to procure you hir highnes lettres: and yet if you be not otherwise contermanded, I dare be bold

to avow hir present contentation for your returne. I have lately at the request of Mr Elderton, your son in lawe, moved hir majestie with a sute of his wherwith you are acquaynted. And I find Mr Wiseman a competitor therof so frended for his funderance, and your son so loth to forgoe it, as I thought good to move hir majestie to stay the wholl matter untill your returne, wherwith she is contented.

The lord Scrope had money sent from hence, wherof (as I understand by Sir Walter Mildmay) he hath made accompt that he hath somepart therof remayning undefrayed; so as there is no cause for any demand to come from him. It is thought that sir John Forsters demandes be very unreasonable, both for the wages of the horsemen serving but in Northumberland in their owne doores, and for the number of his officers not usuall in that contrey. And lastly, it is thought he had no such continuance of the numbers mentioned in his demand, wherupon I was expressly willed by hir majestie to write somewhat playnly to you to have regard therto.

As for the number of vj c. (600.) out of Barwick, it is sayd, that there never came report hither of more than of iij c. (300.) of the garrison, except the supply of them taken into the towne by the marshall may be accompted as parcell, and yet one of those numbers are to be accompted as of the garrison, and so to be out of this pay.

Thus, sir, being fully weryed, I am forced to end with my harty commendations, and compassion of your toylyng service in that cold contrey. From Wyndsor the 13. of January 1570.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

I have not long hard from my lord of Rutland, nor from my sone.

No. LV.

Sir RAFE SADLEIR to Mr ROBERT CONSTABLE.

I commend me herteley unto you, and have receyved your long lettre, which I have thoroughlie perused; and perceyving by the same your good will and paynefull travaile to susteyned in your comberaus iourney for the service of the quenes majestie, and your countrey, I can not but gretely praise and commende you for the same. And because it shall not be unknowen to her majestie, I do intend to send your lettres to Mr Secretarie, for that my lord your maister is not at the courte, but is now at Kenelwourth, and Mr Myldemay also is absent from the courte, so as there is none so good a meane to bring the same to her majesties knowledge, as by Mr Secretarye, who you may be sure will use the matier with no lesse secresie and closenes then you desire. In the meane season you are further proceeding with such as you have to do in this matier, you shall have myn advice, both to delleyver their tokens and messages, and to do all other things for them as they shall desyre, in such sorte as you may wyne credite with them, the rather to bring that matier to passe which is desired at your hande for the better service of the quenes majestie. And you may be sure that if you do worke it to suche effect as may be acceptable to her majestie, her highnes will so rewarde you as shalbe to the grete comforte of you and all yours. Also myne advise is, that you do conferre of this matier with my lord warden of the middell marches, who you know is, and wilbe secret; and I have wrytten to him to satisfie you in such things as you shall require of him, as he may do by virtue of his office, and as the same may tende to the best furtherance of your service. So fare you well, &c.

No. LVI.

ROBERT CONSTABLE, *hys offer and demand for kepinge of Tyndaill and Rydsdaill.* *

1. Fyrst, he to have it be pattant fee his lyf tyme, with the ordinary allowances belonging to the same offyce.
2. Item, in tyme of peasse to have for other country allowance for xxv horsemen at xij^d per diem the peisse in thole l^v (50.)
3. Item, duringe the tyme off warres betwixt Ingland and Scotland to have iij^c (300) horsemen at his own leadinge, and placynge, as he shall thinke most meit for servyce, with the entertainment for him self, with his offycers and soldyers, as aperteneth.
4. Item, the said Robert Constable will bynd hymself beffore the quenes maiesties privay counsell, that if any robbery or stealinge can be provyd to be done be any Tyndaill or Rydsdaill man, that he shall deliver the fellow in the faice of the lawe, onles he be fudgetyf; and if he so be, the said Robert shall satysfye the complaynant so far as the fellows goods will extend.
5. Item, the said Robert shall aunswere the warden of Scotland for any of anoyance to be any of Tyndaill or Rydsdaill during the tyme of peace.
6. Item, in the tyme of ware he shall deffend the with the said iij^c (300) men, and the force of the said two countrys for doinge any anoyance betwext Harbottell, and and within that compys to the se syd, or at least within xx dais after any anoyance done be the enmye within the said surcuiet to do so

* This offer seems to have some reference to the transactions with the fugitive earl of Westmoreland, but is probably of a later date.

great anoyance within Scotland, excepe the Scots invaycion be with a warden or a lewtenant poore.*

7. Provyded that at the intrance of the said Robert, that he be not charged with thappleencyon of any man for any offence as comytted hertoffore.

8. Item, that the said Robert may serve in the said offycys with suffycient deputies, havinge needful occacyon to be absent hym self.

9. Item, if any shuld happen within ather of the said countries, that the said Robert may have comyssyon to appreend or to kill any such as shuld rebell or reseat hym, and to have aid of the lord warden if his own partie be not suffycient.

10. Item, alwais he to have the auctoryte of a justice within boith the said countrys, and that it shall not be unlefull for him to assure, speik, or have confarrance with Skottyshe men as occacyon shall serve for the forderance of servysse.

No. LVII.

Mr Secretary to Sir RAFF SADLER.

SIR,

I hartely thank you for your last lettres of the 9th which I received this daye, wherein surely I allowed well of your counsell, although I can not induce hir majestie to the same as I thynk in respect of the charges, although hir majestie semeth not to dout any forrayn attempt, nor wayeth the practise of the rebells now escaped. But I pray God, that saving cause not dooble spendyng.

Our parts is to counsell, and also to obey the commaunder. I perceve hir majestie is well content that you should come upp as soone as the paye is made; and yet if your desyre be to come upp sonar, I see

* A warden-raid, as the Scots called it, was of course an invasion of more consequence than could be compensated by the retaliation of the keeper of Tynedale.

not but you might assign some to make payment, being a matter that I have knoune you to committ to honest Raylton for a gretar portion. Nevertheless I remitt the matter to your owne better consideration doutyng that my lord of Sussex will not allow of my hastyng you away from his company. Here is almost nothyng but sutes for forfeitures, but hir majestie answereth temperatly, that she must know the forfeitures, &c. From Wyndsor castle the xiiij. of Janu. 1570.

Yours, assuredly,

W. CECILL.

I pray you remember to send some lettres to Doncastre, to be delyvered to Chester the herault, to direct to what place hé shall come with the tresure.

No. LVIII.

My Lords of the Counsell to Sir RAFF SADLIER.

After our right harty commendations: uppon the receipt of the estimate lately sent unto us from you of the whole charges of the armye lately serving under the earle of Sussex, it hath byn here resolved that the some of six thowsande poundes shall bee forthwith sent thither. And because by the computation made by you, we take it that the sume of vm^{li} (5000l.) will be sufficient to make a full discharge of the sayd armye, it is ordered that one thowsande poundes, parcell of the sayd six thowsande, shall be left with Robert Carre, to thintent that the bands remaynyng yet uncassed under the lord Admirall may be therewith fully discharged, and therein as mucche good foresight and circumspection to be used, as shall be convenient for the furtherance of the quenes majesties service, and avoyding of superfluous charges, to which ende wee pray you to confer with him by your lettres, and for that purpose also we thinke it shall be very necessary that good regarde be had, that the treasure sent at this tyme bee chefully employed

abowt the full discharge of those bandes that are necessarylie to be fyrst cassed, so as if any shall happen to remayne unpaid for want of sufficient treasure, the same may bee of those that ar to remayne there, and maye the better tarry for theyr pay, and be the lesse burdensome to hir highnes. And if uppon the discharging of the said bandes under the lord admirall there shall remayne any treasure in the sayde Carres hands undefrayed, he shall be appointed to delyver the same unto you to hir majesties use, and so fare you right hartely well. From Wyndsor the xiiijth of January 1570.

Your assured loving frende,

PENBROKE,	W. HOWARD,
F. KWOLLYS,	JAMES CROFT,
W. CECILL,	WA. MILDMAI.

No. LIX.

A Declaracion in what order the bandes of horsemen and footemen asdoo yet serve on the Borders by thappoyntment of my Lord Lieutenant, are now lefte in, aswell for the tyme of entring into their severall payes, as also what mony hathe ben payde to any of them in prest sithens the tymes of their entring in their said payes, as folowethe.

That is to saye, fyrst one band of fyftie horsemen, under the conducte of capten Nevell, entered into paye the xiiijth of Januarie 1570.

The sayd capten hathe receyved in prest bye vertue of the lord lieutenants warrant to me directed bearing date at Yorke the xxvjth of Januarie 1570, the some of one hundrethe markes, lxxvj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d. (66: 13: 4.)

Item, one band of horsemen to the nomber of fyftie under the conducte of capten Darrington, entered into paye the sayd xiiijth of Januarie, but he sayeth he hathe wrong, for he owght to have entred into his paye the xijth of Januarie, which must be tryed by Mr Carre who payed him his last thorowgh paye.

The sayd capten hath receyved in prest by virtue of the lord lieutenants warrant to me directed, bearing date at Yorke the xxvjth of Januarie 1570, the some of one hundrethe marks, lxxvj^{li}. xiiij^s. iiij^d. (66:13:4.)

Item, one band of fyftie horsemen under the conducte of capten Dacre, have receyved thorough paye untill the xxvth of Januarie, and then to enter into paye, and hath receyved no mony in prest sythens that tyme.

Item, one other band of fyftie horsemen under the conducte of capten Warde, who ys in suche case as thother band last before ys.

Item, one band of one hundreth footemen harquebusers under the conducte of capten Pragle, have receyved their thorough paye untill the xxiii^d of Januarie, and then to enter into paye, and hathe not receyved any mony in prest sythens that tyme.

Item, one band of one hundreth footemen harquebusers under the conducte of capten Knapp, which are in suche case as capten Pragles bandys.

Item, one band of one hundreth horsemen under the conducte of Robert Bowes esquier which entred into paye the — day of —

The sayd Capten hathe receyved in prest one hundreth pounds by vertue of a warrant to me directed from the lord lieutenant, bearing date at Duresme the xvth of Januarie 1570, c^{li}. (100L.)

No. LX.

Sir WALTER MILDMAY to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Albeit I did heare often of you by advertisements hither, yet I was glad to receave so moche written from your self to me. Assuryng you that, to my knowledge, there is neither faulte found with lacke of particulars, neither any mans doings misconstrewed. Every man in his place, in myn opinion, hath served vearly well, and it were greate pitie

that misreaport here, or misreaport where you are, shuld breade gelousye withoute cause. I dowbte not but such regard shalbe had to eche partie, as his travaylle hath deserved. For if in any tyme afore, in this tyme specially such are to be accompted of, nor I fynd wit here, whie any man shold stand in doubt of it.

By this tyme I am sure you have hard of fyve thowsand pounds comyng towards you by Chester the herault. The cause whie you had but xv. c.ⁱⁱ (1500 l.) of the last money was, that otherwise my lord. Admirall could not have discharged so many as he did.

This day we had lettres of the nombres agreed uppon betwene my lord Admirall and you, which I thinke will take place; that is v. c. (500) fotemen and ij. c. (200) horsemen; whan those things be stablished I trust you will reatorne, wherof I wold be very glad; and if you think that I may further it, you may use me at your will. In the meane tyme I wishe the contynuaunce of your healthe: and so I commend you to Almightye God. From Windsor, the xvth of January, 1570.

Your very assured friend,

WA. MILDMAVE

No. LXI.

*Sir RALPH SADLEIR to ROBERT CONSTABLE.**

Efter my right hertie commendacions. I have receyved your lettres by this berer, and have well weyed and considered the contents of the same, whereupon I have thought good to give you myn advise, to deliver the tokens† which I send you agayn hereinclosed, and to do such messages as ar commytted unto you, and all other things, by your

* This is an answer to Constable's long letter, No. LIII. giving an account of the English fugitives on the Scottish border.

† The tokens which Westmoreland gave Constable to present to his countess.

good discession, in such sorte as you may best wynn credite with those persons with whom you have to do, to thende you may the better compass and bring to effecte that matier which you have taken in hande for the service of the quenes majestie; how you shall do it you knowe better then I can tell you; but hereof I dare assure you, that you can devise no way so beneficial for your self, as to worke the matier so that, as you write your self, the ball may be tourned into my lord wardens lap; for as touching submission upon promise of lif and goods, it is in vayne to go that way to worke, for that may be easily brought to passe, and no benefite cann redounde to you* by the same, for you may be sure that the quenes majestie will not accepte their submission when it is offered in that sorte with condycione; but if they will submitte themselves symplie to her majesties mercy, without any condycione or request for lif, lands, or goods, surely I thinke that is the onely way, if there be any, for them to obteyn favour and mercy at her majesties hands; and if you can induce them so to do, it is the best for them, in myn opynyone; but the most beneficiall way for your self, is to devise how to tourne the ball into my lord wardens lap, as is afforsaide, for therby your service may be such as you may be sure her majestie will not leave unrewarded. Thus have I tolde you my mynde in this matier, wherein I wolde have you to worke so as the benefite thereof may growe unto your self. And as I have before advysed you, so I thinke good that you make my lord warden pryvey to your doings, from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require. 16 of January, 1570.

* Sir Ralph Sadler at once addresses himself to the selfish and sordid feelings of the person with whom he had to do, well knowing his own predominant interest was sufficient to decide his conduct. His distinction between what would be best for the offenders, and best for Mr Robert Constable, is admirable; and shews how much he was disgusted by his affectation of interest in their fate.

No. LXII.

ROBERT CONSTABLE *to* Sir RALPH SADLEIR.

SIR,

My humble and bownden dewtye consydered. May it plesse your honor to understand, I came to Brawnsbeth* on Fryday mornyng, tared ther all that day, and mayd all the meyns I cowld to se my ladye, † but yt wold not be. I came to the stewerd, I asked yf my lady were offend with me, and he sayd he thought not, but she was and had riot wyll to speak with any man. I towld hym I would do my dewty to hyr or I retorned home, or I showld tarry a month. He wyllled me to come agayn on the morro, and he shuld gett me to hyr speyche if she wold. I came agayn, and wayted tyll yester nyght, and got to her speyche. But, to be short, after I had dyssyered hyr faythfull and honorable promes to keyp secret that I had to say unto hyr, for that yt towched meyn lyff; she gave hyr hand and fayth so to doo. I kyssed my lords ryng, and gave it to hyr. She was passyng joyefull. I towld hyr how long I had wated to come to hyr speyche. She excused hyr, and not the les asked me forgyvenes dyvers tymes; and after she had enquered all thyngs of my lord, and that I had towld all my messedges, she towld me that sir John Constable ‡ had beyn with hyr from my lord levetennand, and wyllled hyr to wryte to my lord hyr

* The splendid castle of the Nevills, earls of Westmoreland, situated in the bishopric of Durham, and forfeited in consequence of this ill-fated rising. It afterwards was granted to the Vanes, and is now the seat of the earl of Darlington.

† The lady of Charles earl of Westmoreland, was Anne, daughter of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, and sister of Thomas duke of Norfolk; by whom he had four daughters, 1. Catherine, married to sir Thomas Grey, of Chillingham; 2. Eleanor, never married; 3. Margaret, wife of Nicholas Padsey; 4. Anne, married to David Engleby, brother of sir Wm. Engleby, of Ripley, in the county of York. They left a daughter, married to sir Robert Hodshen, of Hebborne, the son, or grandson, of that obstinate Papist whom the Protestants expelled from the town of Newcastle.

‡ Sir John Constable, of Dromondby, in Yorkshire, was alive about 1575; or this gentleman might have been one of the Burton Constable family.

husband, to perswayd hym to mayk. hys humeble submyssion to the queyn majesty, &c. As she dorst do none other, but dellyvered yt to sir John unsealed. She dyssyered me to pray my lord not to be offended for hyr so doyng, howbeyt she thoght yt hys best so to doo, both to wyn agayn the favor of God, of hys natyve prynce, and all hys land and guds agayn, which otherways were utterly lost without hope of recovery, and that before God she thoght he cowld no les doo. With sych further enstrokyons by word of mouth, for me to say to my lord, as ys to long for me to wryte, whereyn she hayth shewd hyrself to be the faythfull servand of God, a dewtyfull subject to the queyns majesty, an obedyent carfull lovyng wyff to hyr husband, and for rypeness of wytt, rydenes of memmory, and playn and pythy uttrans of her words, I have talked with manny, but never with hyr lyke. I have sent you hereyn enclosed a lytle cheyn and a ryng with a dyamond, to be dellyvered to the lard of Farnhyrst; a tablette to the laydy, and a lyttle ryng to my lord; as for a horse, I towld hyr I had consydered with my self, I durst not venter to carry any, and as for the sypers she telld me yt was syffers,* she promest to gett thaym, and to send thame to me thys mornyng by day. Hyr messenger came and towld me thone of thaym that had thaym had buryt thame yn hys kepyng, thother was from home, and wyll not retorn thes ij or iij days; but yf thay be yn place, thay must be rydy agaynst my next retorn; and my laydy prepares hyr self agaynst that tym to be rydy to ryde to London. Sir, I understand that Mr Cutbert Nevell,† ys som tymys yn Brawnspeith lordshyp, and som tymys yn Rayby lordshyp, ressett som tymys with one, som tymys with another, but I can not tell with whom, possyble yn the parsnedge at Bransbeth, but I am not sewre therof; yf yow suffer awwhyll tyll yow be gone from Dorram, he will then be bowlder, that he may be sone spyed. Crystoffer Norton‡

* *Cyphers*, which were asked for under the name of *cyprus*, a species of crape.

† An uncle of the unfortunate earl of Westmoreland. He is in the list of attainders.

‡ This gentleman, a son of Richard Norton, seems to have been made a prisoner and suffered death. As to captain Read, nothing came of the suspicions against him, for I ob-

can tell yow of captayn Reads part; he was his soldyer, and towld me an yll favored tayll of hym, the last tyme I was at Brawnsbeth before thys; but I thynk he had rather dye then accuse. Yf I towche any man for malles God confownd me, or yf I spare any for kynred or affectyon: my menyng ys to serve God, the queyn, and my lord and mayster trewlye, acordyng to the trust commytted, and accordyng to my faythfull promes. I humeble crave pardon becaus I never remembred Crystoffer Norton's words when I ether wrote or spak to you: the words were thes, yf captayn Read, my captayn, had beyn so faythfull a man of hys promes, as men iudges hym to be, he had beyn or now amongs us; but I trust yow wyll not constreyn me to prove and fend,* allthogh yt ys trewe. I towld yow of tow ways yn my last letter that I may attempt, thone ys to bryng thaym to submyssyon, thother by corroptyng of the lard, and to assay yf the ball may be torned ynto my lord warden's lapp. I beseych your honor of yowr advyce heryn. Thone may be withowt dysbursyng of munny, thother wyll not be wythowt sych a some as I ressyted. Yf my lord of Warwyk wryte, whether thynk yow yt meyt that thys letter showl be dellyvered at my howse, as was devysed, or otherways. What yf I can perswayd my lord, by hys letter of submyssyon, to crave pardon, as my laydye wylls hym yn hyr letter, for lyff, lands, lybertye and guds, and to ad thys, that apou that condysyon he is to procure all the resydew of the gentlemen, hys assosyatts, to ioyn yn makyng submysyon with hym, apou promes of ther lyves onely, submytyng ther land and guds to be used att the qweyns majesties plesewre. As yow wyll commawnd me thereafter, I wyll doo so nere as I may.

Sir, I humble thank yow for yowr comfortable letter. I was affore yn utter dyspare that my powr serves was ather myslyked or drowned;

for I observe, that he distinguished himself in the skirmish between Leonard Dacres and sir John Foster, on the side of the latter. See Holinshed's account of that matter.

* "Prove and fend," i. e. become evidence, and so give offence.

but now yow have encoredged me agayn. I wyll not stop for travell, for perrell, nor for expesses, so long as I can mayk any shyft, what yntrest soever I pay, so long as I can gett ather credde^t or pawn. I humeble thank yowr honour allso for my powr servand, God and yowr only gudnes hayth saved hys kynsmans lyff. I cannot speak with my lord warden tyll my retorn forth of Scotland. I durst not stay to wryte tyll I came hyther. I fere I can hardly gett home to morrow for wayters. God wyll^yng, I parted apon Tewsd^ay next, at nyght, to slepp yn the Farnhyrst. I did not let my laydy Westmoreland understand that I had perswaded my lord, and that he had yeylded to mayk submyssyon. I sent a letter with Frawnces Nortons messedge, and I here that hys eldest son ys dead.* God hayth sent me gud fortune to cowmpas all as I wold have wysshed, by lyttle and lyttle, hetherto yn thys serves, wherby I know he ys plesed therwith. All thanks and prayers be gyven to hym who preserve yow yn most prosperous heyllth, with encreyce of mych honour, long to lyve. From Newcastell, thys xv day of Jennuary, 1570.

Your honours most humebly to commawnd,
even unto deth,

ROBERT CONSTABLE.

[*Arms, an Anchor.*]

P. S. Your honour hayth pykt owwt thonly man that I wold have dyssyerred to have beyn privye to the secretes of all my serves, I men Mr Secretorye.

* Probably executed; a circumstance which may have given rise to the traditional story of old Norton's death.

No. LXIII.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Whan I receaved your lettres with the lettre included, sent to you from Newcastle, by R. C.* who had bene in Scotland with the erle of Westmoreland, I thought good to shew the same to hir majesty, my lord of Lecestre being absent, who, in dede, was prive to his journey, and so also was I, though the sayd R. knew not so much.

And uppon consideration of the matter, hir majesty entred into sondry opinions what wer mete to be doone for apprehension of the rebells, but in the end she thus commanded me to wryte to you as followeth, remittyng nevertheless to your consideration, and the advise of my lord lieutenant, to alter the same, as you shall fynd better to the service.

Her majesty wold have R. C. secretly delt withall, to prosecute the enterprise, to trayne the rebells to his house, or otherwise to some places in England, wher they might be so apprehended as he might escape the imputation of any cryme, but rather for coveryng of the enterprise, that he also might be apprehended, and be outwardly charged with offence ageynst hir majesty, and in so doying hir majesty hath commanded me to assure you, that he shall be largely rewarded. And if this enterprise can not take effect, than hir majesty wold that he shuld attempt to make offer of money to some in Scotland, for apprehendyng of them; and therin what so ever you shall warrant hym to offer, not being above j. m. (1000l.) it shall be performed; and thus is hir majesty, as reason willeth, very desyruss to have these noysom vermyn taken; and of this matter hath hir majesty willed me to require you to conferr with my lord lieutenant. We fynd dayly more matter

* Robert Constable.

ageynst Lenard Dacre,* to charge hym with high treason; and therefore the more dilligence and circumspection be used in takyng of hym, the more shall hir majesty lyke it. Of which matter the quenes majesty wrote a few dayes past unto my lord lieutenant.

My lord admyrall wrote to me from Newark on the 16th of this month, being on his waye towards the court by Tatersall and Sem-pugha; and therin his lordship declared that he had payd the 300 footemen, and 100 horss, untill the 14th of this month; so that by that reckoning, if they now be discharged, the expences will not be great.

My lord of Leicester retorneth to morrow hyther, having bene at Killyngworth† 3 or 4 dayes.

I have a desyre to have sir Wm. Pykeryng vichamberlayn, but others, they saye, lyke better of an other that lately was here in custody. God send hir majesty a faythfull counsellor for her and the realme.

The regents servant, Mr Elphynston,‡ is not answered, nor now shall not be untill the next weke, at our comming to Hampton court, to which place the quenes majesty shall remove on Fryday, and ther will be a more assemblie of counsellors. And so I take my leave. From Wyndsor, the 18 of January, 1570.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Sir, of late, whan some question did arise for the tyme of the cessyng of the lieutenants enterteynments, and some motion was made that my lord of Sussexs enterteynment ought presently to cess, because his army was discharged, and he was in his rule of presidentshipp; I alledged that it wer reson so to be, whan he was come to York, and so the warrant passed. I fynd now some offence lyke to grow towards

* Perhaps it was information of her majesty's kind intentions towards him, which drove Leonard Dacre, soon after, into open rebellion.

† Killingworth, the splendid castle of the favourite earl of Leicester.

‡ Elphinstone, an emissary of Murray, regent of Scotland.

me, for that my lords enterteynment contynueth, by coller that he contynueth from Yorke, which some here saye it is lykly he will longer contynew than is mete. I pray you sir consider herof for my respect, for I am most lyke to beare the offence. And on hir majestys behalf I wish the enterteynment shuld not contynew longer than wer mete, although I know my lord charges otherwise to excede.

No. LXIV.

Sir RAFF SADLEIR to Mr Secretarie.

SIR,

I have receyved your lettres of the 13 of this instant, by the which I doo perceyve your good sollicitacion and remembraunce of sending money, which wilbe welcome to a grete many here, and I by the same shalbe ridde of moch clamour, for the which I most hertely thanke you. And touching sir Jo. Forsters demaunds, albeit you had written nothing to me thereof, I wolde have had consideracion of the same, for in dede they be unreasonable, and so I tolde him when he brought me the reckonyng, wherin he yelded, and referred the order of it to my lord lieutenaunt and me. I meant to cut of a grete dele of his demaunde, both in the wages of his horsemen, and in the numbers of his officers; and also to abridge the tyme for the which he requyreth pay, for that I thinke his hole number had not so long contynuaunce, so as you may be sure the quenes majestie shalbe at no further charges therein then trewth and reason shall require.

As for the number vij^c (600) out of Barwicke, Mr Browne, the treasurer there sayeth, that so many of the garrison as cam thens, for this service, were supplied into the towne for the garde of the same. And besids these, the capitaynes which cam to this service with ccc. having but L. (50) a pece, increased their bands to c. (100) a pece, by the saide treasurers apoyntement, who sayeth that my lord of Hunsdon com-

manded him so to do. So as the quenes majestie is thereby charged with a new crew of vj^c (600) for the time of this service, whereof my lord lieutenaunt and I knew nothing till they ioyned with us, and here-upon is growen a question bytween the saide treasurer and me, whether they shalbe in his pay or myne, which, when money commeth, must be decyded by my lord lieutenant.

My lord Scrope demandeth no money now at my hande, but I knew not that he had any from thens till now, upon your advertisement of the same: and yet, by warrant of my lord lieutenaunt, the saide lord Scrope, and Symon Musgrave,* have had at my hande ccc^{li} (300 l.) in prest, which by lykelihod was before he had any money sent from thens, of the which iijc.^{li} (300 l.) they ar to yelde accompte, as well as of such money as was sent to them from thens, wherof it may please you to informe Mr Mildemay. I thanke you most hertely for that you have gotten me leave to retorne, after such payments as ar to be made here, and if I be not countermanded I mynde so to do, desyring, nevertheles, that it may please you, if it may be, to procure her majesties lettres for my better warraunt. I thanke you also for my soone Elryngton,† whom you have bounde, and me also; I trust her majestie will remember, that the last tyme her highnes conferred with me of his sute, she lyked so well of it, as I thought her majestie had resolved to grante the same; and in dede if I had ben as diligent in the cause as som man wolde have ben for his sone, it had ben to farre past for Mr Wiseman to have stayed it; but as I am in dede more necligent in causes which concerne me and myne then in others, so I perceyve that my necligence hathe bredde som hinderaunce to my soone Elryngton, in this his sute, trusting nevertheles, that by your good helpe, he may obteyn her majesties favour in the same. And if her majestie knew Mr Wise-

* Sir Simon Musgrave, an ancestor of the Musgraves of Edenhall, in Cumberland, was sheriff of that county in 11th queen Elizabeth, when this rebellion broke out, and of course was engaged with lord Scroope, warden of the west marches, in levying forces for the queen. *History of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, Vol. I. p. 595.

† Edward Elryngton of Borstall, county of Bucks, husband of Dorothy, sir Ralph's youngest daughter.

man so well as I do, she wolde not thinke him wourthie of any benefite at her majesties hands, ne yet mete for that rowe he hathe, for surely he is one of the greatest papistes I knowe: and here he was in the presents in very suspicious manner with therle of Northumberland, not long before the brute of this late rebellion, and as I lerne brought lettres from the duke of Norffolk, to what ende I knowe not, but surely he is a man that favoureth the pretended cause of this late rebellion, asmoche as any man in Englande, and if he were axed the question, whether he were here at that tyme, and wherefore he cam hither, you might percase understande more of the matier.

My lord of Rutlande, and Mr Cecill your soone, I thinke be with you or this tyme, for they depeched hens a good while ago. And so I ende. 18 January, 1570.

No. LXV.

Mr Secretarie to Sir RAFF SADLEIR.

SIR,

Because I send you the quenes majesties lettre for your licenss to come towards your soone, I will forbeare to wryte more unto you. This daye my lord of Rutland cam hyther, and not before, by whom I was glad to see the contynuanse of your lyking of hym; and he, on his part, required me earnestly to contynew my thanks to you for the syn-gular favour that he receaved of you. I pray God he may contynew in dutyfullnes to Almighty God, and servisable to the quenes majesty and his country. From Hampton Court, the 22 of January, 1570.

Your assured at command,

W. CECILL.

I have moved hir majesty to stay Mr Wisemans sute untill your comming hyther, and so hir majesty will doo.

No. LXVI.

QUEENE ELIZABETH *to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.*

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and right welbeloved counsellor we grete you well. Forasmuch as we understand of the desire which you have to returne to us, and specially now this Terme Time, we think it also necessary in respect of your office of chauncellorshipp of our duchy of Lancaster: we are pleased, that assone as you shall have given order for the payment and defraying of our treasures lately sent downe thither, you shall, at your best commodity, make your repayre hither to us, not dowbting but you shall be well hable to informe us of diverse things necessary to be knowen, for the reformation and better order of that contrey. Given under our signett, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the xxijth of January, 1570, in the xijth yere of our reigne.

No. LXVII.

Sir R. SADLEIR to ROB. CONSTABLE.

After my right hertie commendacions. I have yesterday receyved lettres from Mr Secretary; by the which I understand, that he hathe shewed your long lettre, which you wrote to me of late, unto the quenes majestie; and that her majestie doth take your service in very good and thankfull parte; and also, that hir highnes pleasure is, that you do procede in that you have begon. And if you can bring it so to passe as to trayne those men with whom you have to do, specially the chief and principall of them, to your house, or to any other place in Englande, where they may be apprehended, her majestie hath

commanded me to assure you, that you shalbe largely rewarded for the same by her highnes. And, for the better covering and colour of the enterprise, it is thought good that the matier be so handeled as you also may be taken with them, and be outwardely charged as an offender with them agenst her majesty: whereby they shall have no cause to thinke amysse of you. If you can worke this matier to effect, you shall wynn favour and liberall rewarde at her majesties hands. And if you can not do so, then you may attempte to make offer of money to some in Scotlande; and thereby to see what you can do with the golden hooke, which you wrote of in your saide lettre; and therein, if it may be brought to passe for any reasonable offer, I have good warraunt to see it perfourmed; prayeng you, if you do enter into any such practise, that, before you make any specyall or particular offer of any somme certen, you will advertise me what is demaunded; wherupon you shall knowe more. For the lesse the somme be, the better service shall you do, and the greter wilbe your owne rewarde; and yet it is not meant but that they also, which shall promise you to take thenterprise in hande, shalbe rewarded, if it be brought well to passe. Prayeng you, in this matier, to use my lord warden of the middell marches advise, with whom I have conferred at good length in that behalf.

One of these two waies afore said you must worke; for as touching submission, you may be sure, that her majestie will not accepte any condicionall submissionn; and therefore it is in vayne to go about it.
23 Jan. 1570.

No. LXVIII.

Quene ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and right well beloved counsellour we grete you well. This bearer shall informe you of the cause of this his iourney,* wherof we are earnestly sory, as your self can well iudge we have iust cause. And by sight of his instruction, you shall perceiue our meaning for your staye presently ; and as occasion may be given for your proceeding into Scotland, wherof also, both for the and for the contynuaunce of you in suche troublesome iourneys, we wolde be very sory that you shuld have cause. But suche is the importaunce of this mater, and your understanding also therein, as we cannot but at this tyme make choise of youe ; and therefore, upon knowledge from Randolf,† if he shall advertise you that the regent is deadde, or that by iudgement he cannot escape deathe upon his hurte, we require you to make your repayere spedely thither. And at your coming into Scotlande, where you shall finde the nobility, to resorte to all such of them as you shall thinke mete in our name ; and as occasion shalbe offered to youe, upon the accidencies of the maters there, to treat with them severally or iointly, to accord faste toguider in unity amongs themselves, to the staye of that realme in quietnes and comin peaxe, and to employ their

* On the 23d of January, 1569-70, the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, was shot in the town of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Five days seem to have been sufficient to carry the news of his wound, but not the event of it, to the court of queen Elizabeth.

† Randolph who was sent to Scotland immediately on the news of the regent's hurt, was probably the bearer of this letter. Sir Ralph Sadler did not receive it in time enough to prevent his coming back from the north upon his former licence, for he arrived near London unexpectedly with the earl of Sussex ; and thus escaped the fatigues and dangers of another Scottish mission.--*Mission. Cabala*, p. 161.

forces jointly toguider against the disturbers therof, and to preserve the state of religion from any chaunge, and not to entre into any alterations to bring that realme, or any parcell thereof, into the bondage or authority of any forreine prince. And in all suche determinations they shalbe assured they shall have us like a freindly neighbour unto them, with no lesse care then they have had experiency we have borne towards the maintenaunce of peaxe, love, and concorde, betwixt bothe the realmes and our subjects. And, in this sorte, we wolde have youe, at the first, procede generally with them. And if they shall move yowe in any other particular demands for our aide or supporting of them, yowe shall answer them, that yowe are comme thether soddenly ; and, upon your advertisement to us of their state and proceeding, yowe will spedely procure answer to theis demaunds ; which also we doubt not but you will temper withe suche reasone and modesty, as neither they be discouraged with doubt of our favoure, nor yet boldened to more unreasonable or over hard demaunds. And, considering the suddennes of this mater, the uncertainty of the events that may followe, we cannot otherwise prescribe yow, but to let you knowe, that these three poincts be the speciall things wherunto your proceedings must tende ; to procure the stay of the state of religion in that realme ; the save-tye of the prince, that he be not conveyed awaye ; and the reteyning of the states of that realme from combination withe Fraunce or Spaine. And, as youe shall finde occasion at your coming thither, we require youe to deal for the delivery of our rebelles, or at the leaste to have them stayd in savetye. Geven under our signet, at our honour of Hamptoncourte, the xxixth of January, the xijth yeare of our reigne.

*To our trustie and right welbeloved counsellour
sir Rauf Sadleir, knight, chauncellour of our
duchy of Lancaster.*

No. LXIX.

Q. ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.*

Trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you well. Although you take your iourney thither, and the chardg there of, the quene, by our commaundement, yet we think you will cum redely from thence without any commaundement, so you have but our licence, and that not for misliking of your usage there, which we here is very good. And therfor now, upon the retourn thither of our cousin the erle of Shrewsbury, in whom surely we fynd great cause of trust, we licence you to retourn. Not doubting but shortly to see you; and then to here of things there past under your chardg; and also to thank you for your diligence and painfulnes. And so we pray youe, before your departure thence, to lett our cousin the countess of Shrewsbury understand how thankfully we accept her singular good will and faithfulness, in the service which we knowe she doth unto us in that place; and that we see that she is not unmyndfull of the good will that we have bestowed upon her, and which good memorye of her we trust she shall never have cause to repente.† Given under our signet, at our pallays of Westminster, the first day of February 1570, the xijth yere of our reigne.

* From this letter it would seem, that sir Ralph Sadler had been the provisional guardian of the queen of Scotland, during some occasional absence of the earl of Shrewsbury, her jailor in ordinary. Queen Elizabeth is pleased to be facetious upon the reluctance with which her subjects usually undertook this charge, and their joy at being released from it.

† The countess of Shrewsbury was supported by Elizabeth as a domestic spy, for which her furious and jealous temper rendered her an apt instrument. Thus, not satisfied with imposing on the earl the task of almost an ordinary jailor, she nourished dissension in his family, lest it should be too easy an abode for his captive.

No. LXX.

Q. ELIZABETH to Sir RAUF SADLEIR.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.*

Trusty and right well beloved counsellour wee greet you well. Forasmuch as now lately upon occasion given us by reason of the rebellion moved in the north parties of our realm, we did command our faithfull subiects in the most parte of the shires of our realm, to be armed and furnished according to their severall condicions, to serve both on horse and on foot; and therupon, being mustered and reviewed, a great part thereof were found very unhable to serve us; not for want of number, strength, good will, and hability of ther persons, but for lacke of horses and geldings, with the furniture therto belonging mete for horsemen, and also of good armour, shot, and other weapons mete for footmen, specyally as now is requisite for the warres, otherwise than in former tymes hath been; the wants whereof should moch the more have greved us, but that we were duly certified from all places of our realme, (savage only from the very corneres, which the heads of this late rebellion did for the tyme occupy,) that our whole people of all degrees were to all purposes apparently found faithfull, loyall, and willinge, both with their bodies, lives, and goods, to serve us against the said rebelles; whereof we had manifest proffe in no small numbers, that were spedely levied, and most willingly conducted in our army into the northe; and that for ther want of horses, armour, and weapon

* This and the following letters relate to the expedition of Sussex into Scotland. The lairds of Buccleuch and Fairnyhirst, on the very night after the regent Murray had been slain at Linlithgow, broke into England with their clans, and laid waste the frontiers with unwonted ferocity. To avenge this insult, as well as to chastise these Border chieftains for the protection which they had afforded to the English fugitives, and to make them, as Cecil expresses it in a letter to sir Henry Norris, "feel the sword and firebrand," Elizabeth dispatched Sussex into Scotland, who, in the course of a week, totally wasted, burned, and destroyed the vales of Teviot, Kale, and Bowmont, levelling fifty castles and strong-holds, and above three hundred villages.

requisite to furnishe them with all, they were also willinge to provide the same with their monye, as time and oportunitye might therto serve. We having had consideracion hereof, and finding the tyme very necessary, that our subiects should, through our whole realme, be otherwise furnished, then it semeth they lately were, have thought yt most necessary, that this our pleasure were to them in everye part notified, and that some good order might be taken bothe to understand the wants therof, and to direct the meanes to repayre the same, and to see yt performed effectually; and to this ende we have founde no other means better then to commit the princypall charge hereof to you, whom we have of specyall trust (as you know) made, by our lettres patents, our lieutenant generall of that sheire of Hartford; and therefore we earnestly require you to consider well hereof, and furthwith to cause good vewes to be made in every parte of that sheire, as well in liberties as without, of all maner of persons chargable by their lands in dede, and not by the undervalews conteyned in sub books, to find horses or geldings; and to cause their horses and geldings, with their furniture, to be also seene, and made redye against some daie, to be first shewed afore yourself in severall places; and therupon to command and charge the parties whome you shall finde to make default, or to lack mete horses or geldings, or mete furniture eyther for ther horses or for the horsemen, by an other daie by you to be lymmitted, to repair the same lackes, upon pain to be sent heyther to appear personally before us or our previe counsayle, to receyve such punishment as to such a contempt shall be requisite; being an offence against the suretie of us and our realm. And after you have viewed the said horsemen, and procured as moch as in you shall be to have the same well furnished, you shall cause a muster book hereof to be made, noting therein the diversities in this or like sorte: that is, first, how many be fully serviceable, and furnished at the tyme of your view; and, next, how many horses or geldings be at that present not hable for lack of good feeding, and yet may be made hable by a reasonable tyme afore the beginning of sommer. And as for such as shal be presented,

and will not be hable nether for the launce nor the light staff, our meaning is, that you shall utterly reiect them, and charge the parties to make provision of better by a day lymmitted. And allthough we are desirous you should have a vew of all the foresaid horsemen yourself, to the intent the service may be the more effectually accomplished, yet if you shall find the same difficult to be done by yourself, by reason of the largeness of the shire, or any other impediment, then we require you to make good choice of such as to whom you shall commit the charge hereof, that all the horsemen within your lieutenancy may be seen, mustered, and duly registered, though in several places, yet in one day, for avoiding of deceit and fraud. And as you see by these our directions, how careful we are to have this service for horsemen to be avaunced, wherof we trust you can consider how much it importeth us and our realm : So we hertely require you to use all the care that you possibly can, to cause all manner of footmen of all sorts to be better armed and weaponed, and to increase the shot of the harquebuse to your uttermost ; foreseeing, that in the provision of the armour and the shot, such regard be had as it be good and serviceable ; for otherwise both the charges of the countries shall be in vain, and the persons of our subjects without surety in time of service ; for which purpose, we have also given order to have a new proportion to be brought from beyond the seas, that shall be well seen to be better, and of a more suertye, than we understand some hath been that cost us in deed no less money then the best that we could have chosen. The fault and error whereof we doubt not shall be assuredly in this next provision amended. And so, as you shall see occasion of any doubt to be moved by them, whom you shall order to make new provision, you may assure them that they shall be provided of sure and serviceable stuffs. In thes matters our desire is, that, with all speed, upon the receyte of these our lettres, you should endeavour yourself to execut the same ; and to use all good means, by conference with such of the principall gentlemen as you know within your lieutenancy to be duly affected to the service of us and our realm ; that by their good persuasions, and

your directions, this our meaning for the increase of the strength of our realm, may be speedily, and without any unnecessary delay, well executed. Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton court, the xvth of February 1570. In the xijth yere of our reign.

*To our trusty and right well beloved counsellor.
sir Rafe Sadler, knight, chancellor of our
dutchy of Lancaster, and our lieutenant ge-
neral of our county of Hertford.*

No. LXXI.

*To our trusty and right well beloved counsellor Sir RAPE SADLER, Knight,
Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, and our Lieutenant General of
our County of Hertford.*

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and right well beloved counseylour, we grete you well. For that we have occasion to increase our garrisons upon the frontiers against Scotland, where the rebels that lately fled into that relme, being assisted partly with certain of the Borderers of Scotland, being lawless men,* and partly with certain factious Scottish parsons, envying the long quietness contynued during our raigne betwexte the two relmes, doo make many incursions upon our faythfull subiects, with lykelyhood to increase more, to the danger and dishonor of our relme, if the same should be longer suffered; we have, for that purpose, thought meete, with as small trouble to our subjects, as reasonably may be, to cause certain souldiours to be sent out of the south parts of our realm, besyde the force that already is levied in the north. And

* These were the clans of Scott and Kerr, who, at this time, ravaged the borders of England with unusual cruelty. Leonard Dacres and the earl of Westmoreland are the English fugitives alluded to.

among others, therefore, require you, as our lieutenant in that our county of Hartford, to cause the number of fyfty footmen to be presently with all speed put in a readiness, with good armour and weapon, in this sort: That twenty of them may serve with corsletts and pykes; and the rest, being thyrty, as harquebuziers, with sword, dagger, and murryons. And the same number, so well chosen and armed, to be sent to our citie of York with all speed possible, under the leading of some discreet hable person; who, if he shall be disposed to serve in those parts, shall have some convenient place appointed unto him by order of our cousin of Sussex, our lieutenant general there. And for the coste, monny, and conduct of the said number of soul-diours, the same shall be at our sayde citie of York duely payde, either to the person whom you shall appoint to conduct them, or otherwise, as by our letter to our said lieutenant shall be required. And we would that you should certify our counsel of the day that this number shall depart out of the countrey towards York, and by what time they may be at York. For our desire is, that they may be there with all speed, and specially before the last day of this month. Geven under our signet, at our palass of Hampton court, the 10th of March 1569, in the 12th yere of our reign.

Hartfordshire. Sir R. Sadler.

No. LXIX.

To our trusty and right well beloved Counsaylour Sir RAPH SADLER, Knight, our Lieut. of our County of Hertford, and Chauncellour of our Duchy of Lancaster.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEENE.

Right trusty and well beloved, we grete you well. Having necessary occasion to levy and send a number of horsemen towards the bor-

ders of Scotland, we have made choice of certain in that county, whom we think able to furnish such as we have prescribed them by our letters. And therefore, we send to you our said letters severally directed, with a schedule here inclosed, containing the names of the parties, and the several natures of the horsemen ; requiring you, with the help of our sheriff, by means of his inferior bailiefes, or otherwise as you shall think most speedy, to send the same to the parties, or to their houses, with charge that the tenor thereof be accomplished. And because you shall the better know the contents of the same, we send you herewith also a copy of the form of our said letters. And for instruction on them in this furniture, you shall prescribe to them, that for the demy lance, the horse or gelding be of good strength, and able, with all the furnytüre, both to travail and do the service requisite ; and that the man that shall serve upon him, be also able in person for the purpose, and be armed with an armour having a rest for the lance. And for the light horsemen ; that the armour be at least a corslett, and the weapon a light staff, and a pistoll. And that the coats of either of the horsemen may be cloath, and the coulour blew. And if you perceive, that amongst these lettres some of the parties be not dwelling in the county, nor near where they may be sent to, or some of them be dead or misnamed ; in these cases, we would have you, for the first, being out of that county, (if you cannot conveniently send the same to them, which we would you should do, rather than the service should be omitted,) then you shall speedily return the same to our council, with notice where the party dwelleth. And, in the second, if the party be dead, you shall also return the letter, with notice who succeedeth the same party in the possession of his house, lands, or wealth, so as the same may be charged to supply the tack. And for the last, of misnaming ; except you see by the misnomer, that the party is also mistaken, as being not able to furnish the charge, you shall in our name require the party for that small error (being put in writing) not to slack our service. And where the christian name shall be wanting, we authorise you to supply it in the endorsement. And because it

may be that there are sundry within that shire at this time omitted, as able to serve this purpose as those which be named, considering we may have occasion to use a more number of horsemen, or at the least may have some necessary want of these numbers limited, we require you to inquire diligently thereof, and advertise our council speedily and plainly of them, their names, degrees, and the place of their dwelling. And considering it is meet that these horsemen should be seen to be serviceable before they shall depart towards service ; and that being so found, they may be ordered to pass in companies together ; we require you to have care that they may be viewed ; and being found serviceable, that they may pass out of that county. And, to that end, cause some one place to be assigned at one day certain, and meet for them, in the border of the county, being in the right way to York ; and there to be by you, or some sufficient persons for you, viewed or seen, whether they shall be able or no. And if you shall find them not able, then to reject and return them to the owners, with declaration of their defaults, and discharge them with speed to reform the same ; and of the defaults to advertise our council, in whom the same shall be, that the parties may be known and understand the same, as the cases shall require. And if you shall appoint some able persons to conduct them to York, the same shall receive for the use of the owners of the horses, such money as shall be due for their coats, and shall see the horsemen answered for their pay of their conduct ; and the same person, for his charges, shall also receive conduct money for his journey thitherward and backward. Given under our signet, at our palass of Hampton, the 11th day of March 1569, the 12th year of our reign.

1

ACCOMPT

RENDERED BY SIR RALPH SADLER,

TREASURER OF THE ARMY

SENT TO SUPPRESS

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION, 1569-70.

A C C O M P T

RENDERED BY SIR RALPH SADLER.

The late Rebellion in the North.

THE duplicamente of thaccompte of sir Raphe Sadleyr, knighte, one of the quenes majesties moste honorable privie counsaile, and treasurer of her highnes armie levied in the northe parties, under the ordre and leadinge of the righte honorable Thomas erle of Sussex, lorde precedent of Yorke, and one of her majesties leutenaunts generall, appointed for repressinge of the rebellion lately stirred in the northe parties by Thomas, erle of Northumberland, and Charles, erle of Westmorlande, with other there confederates, as by her majesties lettres of commission under her highnes signe manuell and signet, directed to the saide sir Raphe Sadler hereafter mencioned dothe appere, viz. trustie, and righte welbeloved, we grete you well, we have presently ordered that a masse of treasurer is sente towards yeu by Edwarde Eglonby of Warwicke shere, and he is directed to deliver the same to your chardge, wherein our meaninge and pleasure is, that you should privatly conferre with our admirall, consideringe that you or bothe of our privie counsaill, and in that respecte understande how theis extraordinarie chardges ar of

importaunce to us, havinge in dede taken up by interest of our citizens of London all this money. And therupon devise in what sorte it shal be beste to the diminucion of our chardges to have this money or anye parte therof distributed, and so we will you shall deliver to Roberte Carre being appointed treasurer for the armye conducted by our couzen of Warwicke and our admirall such porcion as shalbe betwixte you two accorded neadefull to be payed to the armye, and for such as shalbe thoughte nedefull to the other companies serving under therle of Sussex, yourselfe shall upon a warraunte of the lieutenaunte se it paide; and as we have lately written to the three generalls to have care howe this excessive chardge maye be diminished, so we will and chardge you according to the truste we have in you to sollicit the execucion therof with all reasonable spede, and herin at the tyme of the writing herof, we thinke that our said generalls shall have good oportunitie to diminishe partlye good nombres, specially foetemen if it shall prove trewe that this daye we understande by lettres written from thence the xvijth herof, that the rebells with there horsmen were gone from Durhame towards Exhame, and there footemen scaled. And so committing no smale truste in you herin we ende. Geven under our signet at our castell of Windesore the xxth of December 1569. That is to saye, as well of all suche somes of money as the saide accomptante, or eny his deputie or deputies hath receved and hadd in preste eny maner of waies of the quenes majesties treasure for defrey of the saide service. As also of the debaringe and paymente of the same treasure for the wages and entertaignment of the said lord lieutenaunte, officers, captens, soldiers, and otherwise by warrauntes from the saide lord lieutenaunte according to such rates of wages by the daye as was formerly lymitted and prescribed by the quenes majestie, and signified to the saide accomptaunte by lettres of her majesties privie counsaill, dated at Windesore the xxvijth of December 1569, from the xvjth daye of Novembre in the xjth yeare of the raigne of our moste gracious soveraigne ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of Englande, France, and Ire-

lande, defender of the faithe, &c. untill the xxvjth of January, then nexte folowinge in the xijth yeare of her majesties raigne, conteyninge lxxij dayes, (bothe dayes includid,) as by one particular booke together with sondry warrauntes and acquittances exhibited upon this accompte examined and remayning doth appere, which saide accompte was taken and declared before the righte honorable William, marques of Winchester, lord highe treasurer of Englande, and sir Walter Mildemaye knighte chauncellor, and under treasurer of the exchequer, the first daye of Marche *anno duodecimo regnæ predictæ*. That is to saye, the said accomptaunte is charged with

Ready money by him receved and had, viz. of the Treasurer and Chamberlans of the Exchequer.

In the terme of Sainte Michael tharchaungell, *anno regni domine Elizabeth, regne undecimo finien. and duodecimo incipien.* by the handes of the tellours there, viz. of Richarde Stoneley, by vertue of a privie seale, dated xvijth die Novembr. *anno duodecimo regne predictæ*, - - - - - cc^{li}

Richarde Smith, m^{li} (1000l.) Richarde Candeler, d^{li} the saide Richard Stoneley, d^{li} in full paymente of a privie seale, dated xxvijth Novembre, *anno xij^{mo} regnæ predictæ*, brought to thandes of the said accomptaunte by John Harte als Chester, - - - - - m.m^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley aswell by a dormaunte privie seale, dated xxiiijth Novembre, *anno predictæ*, as by warraunte under thandes of sixe of the quenes majesties moste honourable privie counsaill, dated vjth December 1569, delivered to thandes of the said accomptaunte by Peter Yorke, - - - - - D^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley, by thandes of Edward Egliobye, by vertue of one privie seale, dated xixth die December 1569, - - - - - x.m^{li}

The saide Richarde Stoneley, by thandes of the afore-
said John Harte als Chester, by privie seale, dated
xiiijth January, *anno undecimo regne predictæ*, - vj^m^{li}

In all receaved as aforesaid, as by certificate under
thande of Roberte Petre, clerk of the Peale ap-
perithe, - - - - - ———— xvij^m dcc^{li}
£18,700

*Valentine Browne, Esquire, Treasurer of
Barwicke.*

Also, the said accomptaunte chargeth himself with mo-
ney by him receaved, and had in preste of the saide
treasurer of Barwicke, viz. at one tyme by thandes
of sir Thomas Gargrave, knight, m.m^{li} and at one
other tyme by thandes of the said treasurer ccc^cxxvj^{li}
xiiij^s ij^d towards the defraye of the chardges of the
said armye, as by certificate of the said treasurer
dothe appere, - - - - - m.m. ccc^c xxvj^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

Some of the receipt aforesaide, - - - - - xxj^m cxxvj^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

The said accomptaunte is allowed for, the righte ho-
norable Thomas, erle of Sussex, lieutenaunte generall
of the northe parties for the interteignemente after
cs per diem, according to a rate prescribed the quenes
majestie for the wages of the lieutenaunts and other
principall officers of the armye, certified to the said
accomptaunte by lettres under thandes of her ma-
jesties moste honorable privie counsaill, dated at
Windesor the xxvijth of December 1569, viz. for this
said entertaingement for lxxij dayes, begininge the
xvjth of Novembre 1569, and ending the xxvjth of Ja-
nuary following, as by the said warraunte and the
acquittances doth appere, - - - - - ccccxixij^{li}

Sir George Bowes, knight, marshall of the said armye,
his more wages at xx^s per diem, and his under mar-
shall at vj^s viij^d per diem, for xliij dayes beg. the

xiiijth of Decembre, and ending the xxvjth of January following, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenaunte, dated xxixth die Januarii, anno dom. Elizabeth reg. whereby the said counsaile and warraunte there was appointed x^s wages, per diem for the lorde marshall, his one persone, and provoste marshall vj^s viij^d per diem, as by the saide warraunte subscribed by Thomas Bamborough, muster master of the said army dothe appere, - - - - - lvij^{li} xij^s iiij^d

The right honorable sir Raphe Sadler, knighte, one of the quenes majesties most honorable privie counsaile, assistaunte to the lord lieutenaunte, and also having chardge of the treasore by ordre from the quenes majestie, as apperith by the counsaills warraunte aforesaid for his entertaingement after xx^s per diem, for lxxix dayes, beginning the xvijth of Novembre, and ending the fourthe of February 1569-70. - lxxix^{li}

The right honorable Henry, lorde Hunsdon, generall of the horsmen for his one wages at xx^s per diem, and his lieutenaunte at x^s per diem, by vertue of the counsaills warraunte aforesaid, and for the wages of xxxvj lighte horsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece, by warraunte of the said lord lieutenaunte, dated the xvijth of January, duodecimo Elizabeth reg. for the wages aforesaid for xxxj dayes, beginninge the xxv. of Novembre, and ending the xxvth of Decembre followinge 1569, as by the saide warraunte and there acquitaunces dothe appere, - - - - - cxx^{li} xvij^s

The right honorable Edwarde, erle of Rutlande, coronail, or lywetenaunte of the footemen for his wages at xx^s per diem, according to the tenure of the counsaills lettre aforesaide for xxvij dayes, beginninge the xxvth of Novembre, and ending the xxijth of Decembre following, as by warraunte of the said lord lieutenaunte and his acquittaunce apperithe, - xxvij^{li}

Humfrey Barwicke, master of thordinaunce for his wages at x^s per diem, accordinge to the saide counsells

warr. for xxxix dayes, begining the xxth of November, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre, as by a warraunte amongst other wages and chardges directed from the lorde lyvetenante, dated the xvijth of January, *anno predicte*, and his acquitaunce amongst other aperithe, - - - - - xix^{li} x^s

Thintertegnmente and Wages of the Lorde Lyvetenante and other hed officers of the Armye, viz. To

Thomas Bamboroughe, lieutenaunte major of tharmye, for his wages accordinge to the counsaills lettre aforesaide at v^s per diem, for xxxij dayes, begining the xxth of Novembre, and ending the xxvjth of Decembre, as by warraunte and acquittaunce doth appere, viij^{li}

Thomas Bamboroughe, must. Mr of the said armye, for his wages according to the counsaills lettres aforesaid, at x^s per diem, and by warraunte of the lord lyevetenaunte for the wages of one clarke at ij^s per diem, and for iiij horsmen, at xvj^d per diem the pece for lxx daies, begining the xvijth of Novembre, and ending the xxvith of January followinge, as by the said warrante and acquittance doth appeare, lx^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

Nicholas Avington Scowte Mr for his wages, according to the counsaillies warraunte aforesaid, at iiij^s per diem, and by warraunte from the lord lieutenaunte, for wages of twoo lighte horsmen, at xj^d per diem the pece for xxxij dayes, begining the xxvjth of Novembre, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre followinge, as by warr. and acquittance doth apperith, x^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

Willm. Cavell. surveyor of the victuells, for his wages, at vj^s viij^d per diem, according to the counsaills lettre aforesaid for xiiij dayes, which in the tyme of this accompte, as by a warraunte annexed to a booke of victuallinge hereafter apperithe, - - - - - iiij^{li} vj^s viii

Christofer Repton, carriage master, or comissary of the carriages for tharmye, for his wages according to the saide counsaills lettre, at iiij^s per diem for xxvij dayes, begining the vjth of Decembre, and ending the first of January followinge as by warraunte annexed to a booke of particular chardges, touching the carriages hereafter mencioned doth appere, - - - cvij^s

Leonarde Knappe, Henrye Barton, and Morgan Nugente, corporalls of the saide armye, for their severall fees, at iiij^s the pece per diem, viz. the said Knappe for xiiij dayes, begining the xxjth of Novembre, and the saide Barton and Neugente for xxxij dayes, begining the xxjst of Novembre, and ending the xxijth of Decembre 1569, as by two warraunts of the said lorde lyevenaunte and acquittance apperithe, xv^{li} xij^s

Sir Oswalde Molstrappe, knighte, capten of ciiij^{xx} vj (186) horsmen, for his owne wages, at xij per diem, his lyvenaunte vj^s. standard bearer iij^s. and ciiij^{xx} vj lightehorsmen, enteringe in paye at sewerall tymes, at xvj^d per diem the pece, begining the xvijth of Novembre, and ending the xxvijth of Decembre following 1569. (The broken payes defaulted and allowed,) as by one warraunt of the lorde lieutenaunte, and subscribed with the muster Mr. together with his acquittance apperithe, - - - cccxxxj^{li} ij^s viij^d

Sir Willm. Inglebye, knighte, capten of ccxlvij horsmen, for his one wages at xij^s. lieutenant vj^s. standard bearer iij^s. and ccxlvij lightehorsmen, entered in paye at sewerall tymes at xvj^d per diem the pece, begining the saide xvijth of Novembre, and ending the said xxvijth of Decembre followinge, (the broken paye defaulted and allowed,) as by one warraunte and acquittaunce appearithe, - - - ccccxlii v^s iiij^d

John Vaughane, esquire, capten of ccxlvij horsmen, for his one wages, at xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s. standerd bearer iiij^s. one trompeter ij^s. and ccxlvij lighte horsmen, enteringe paye at sewerall tymes, at xvj^d the

pece per diem, begining and ending as before, as
by one warraunte and acquittance apperithe, (the
broken payes defaulted,) - - - - dxxj^{li}

John Wilstroppe, capten of l. lightehorsmen, appoint-
ed to lye upon the borders in the middle marches,
for his one wages, at iij^s per diem, and his said hors-
men at xvj^d the pece per diem for xxj dayes, be-
gininge the xxviiijth of Decembre, and ending the
xviijth of January followinge 1569-70, as by one war-
raunt, and his acquittance appearithe, - - - lxxiiij^{li} iij^s

Sir John Foster, knighte, lorde warden of the midle
marches, anempste Scotlande for thinterteignement of
captens, officers, and such nombre of lightehorsmen
as followethe with power; levied by vertue of the
quenes majeties warraunte to him directed, dated at
Windesore castell the xxvjth of Novembre 1569, viz.
for the wages of tenne captens, at vj^s per diem the
pece, x lieutenants at iij^s per diem the pece, iiij
standerd bearers at xvij^d per diem the pece, one
trompeter at xvj^d per diem, and m.clxxiiij lighte hors-
men at xij^d per diem the pece for xv dayes, begininge
the xth of Decembre 1569, and ending the the xxiiijth
of the same, by warraunte of the lorde lyeutenante,
dated xxviijth Januarii, anno predicte, together with
his acquittance, - - - - - decccclij^{li} xv^s

The saide sir John Foster, knighte, capten of c lighte-
horsmen, his one wages vj^s. lyeutenante iij^s. standerd
bearer xvij^d. one trompeter xvj^d. and one hundreth
lightehorsmen at xij^d per diem the pece for xvij
dayes, begininge the xxiiijth of Decembre, and end-
inge the xjth of January 1569-70, and then dischargd
as by one warraunte, and his acquittance apperithe, c^{li} xiiij^s

Thomas Cecill, esquire, capten of ccclxxij lighthors-
men, beinge of the bande attending upon the lieu-
tenante his persone, for his wages at xvij^s per diem,
his lyeutenante at ix^s per diem, standerd bearer iiij^s
vj^d. trompeters iij^s. and vj^d. of his servaunts at xvi^d

per diem the pece for xxv dayes, begininge the xxvth of Novembre, and ending the xxixth of Decembre 1569, and for the wages of his said lighthorsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece, entring into service at sewerall dayes, and ending the said xxixth of Decembre, as by one warraunte, and sewerall acquittances dothe appere, - - - - - dcccclxx^{li} vj^s ij^d

Sir John Constable, knighte, for service of himself and xl lightehorsmen, from the xvijth of Novembre, until the viijth of Decembre, contaning xix dayes for the which he demaundeth, - - - - - ij^{li}

Wages of Lighthorsmen, To

The lorde Darcy, for service of himself and xv lightehorsmen, from the vijth of Decembre 1569, untill the xxixth of the same, containinge xxj dayes, for the which he demaundet in allowance, - - - ij^{li}

John Leighton, esquire, havinge the chardge of ciiij^{xx} lightehorsmen attending upon the said lorde lieutenant, his persone, after the going awaye of the saide — Thomas Cécill, esquire, formerly havinge the chardge of the said bande, for there wages at xvj^d per diem the pece, begininge the xxxth of Decembre, and endinge the xxvith of January followinge 1569-70. as by one warraunte and acquittance appearithe, iiij^{xx} xix^{li} xij^s viij^d

John Ward, capten of fiftie lighthorsmen, for his one wages at iiij^s. one guidon at xvij^d, and his saide horsmen at xvj^d the pece per diem for the side xxvij dayes, begininge and ending as before, as by one warraunte and acquittance appearithe, - - - iiij^{xx} xix^{li} xij^s viij^d

Sir George Bowes, knighte, capten at one tyme of cccxi lightehorsmen, and afterwarde havinge the chardge but of ccvij lightehorsmen, his one wages xij^s. lieutenant vj^s. guidon iiij^s. and horsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece for xxix dayes, begininge the xiiith of

- Decembre, and ending the xjth of January followinge
 1569-70. (the broken payes defalted and allowed,) as
 by one warraunte and acquittaunce apperithe, cccciij^{xx} xij^{li} xj^s viij^d
- The same sir George Bowes, knighte, capten of lx lighte-
 horsmen, for the wages of the same lightehorsmen at
 xvj^d per diem the pece for ten dayes, begon the xijth
 of January, and ending the xxjth of the same, as by
 one warraunte and acquittaunce apperith, - - - xli^{li}
- Reginalde Warroppe, for money by him receaved of
 sir Tomas Gargrave, knighte, to be by him delivered
 over to thandes of the lorde Scrope, warden of the
 weste marches, for preste money for v^c horsmen, to
 come presently from thence to the said lorde lieu-
 tenaunte by warraunte, dated iij^{tio} die Decembr. 1569,
 together with his acquittaunce, - - - c^{li}
- Symonde Musgrave, capten of the said v^c horsmen, for
 like money by him receaved in preste by warraunte,
 dated the xiiith of Decembre, to be defaulted upon
 his further paye of his saide bande, as by the same
 warraunte and his acquittaunce doth appeare, cc^{li}
- Röbte Bowes, esquire, capten of v^c horsmen towards
 the frontiere of him and his bande in preste, to be
 defaulted upon his full paye, by vertue of twoo war-
 raunts, the one dated the xvth of January, and the
 other the xxixth of the same 1569-70, as by the same
 and his acquittaunce apperithe, - - - cc^{lii}
- Capten Neavell and capten Darington, havinge either
 of them the chardge of fitie horsmen, for the fur-
 nishinge of themselves and their bandes, to be de-
 faulted upon their farther payes by warraunte and
 there acquittaunce, - - - - - cxxxiiij^{li} vi^s viij^d

*Monny by him issued, paide, defrayed,
for wages and other chardges touch-
ing the said Armye ; that is to say,
Wages of Footemen,*

Willm. Lerde Ewrye, capten of iiij^{xx} xix soldiers, himself serving without enter-
teignement, his lieutenaunte at vj^s. en-
sign bearer xij^d. one grome, three ser-
vaunts, and one surgeon at xij^d per diem
the pece, and the said soldiers at viij^d
the pece per diem for xxxij days, be-
gininge the xxjth of Novembre, and
endid the xxij^d of Decembre, and for
the like wages of ciiij^{xx} iiij soldiers, at
like rate for xij dayes, begininge the
xjth of Decembre, and ending as before ;
and for xvij soldiers at like rate for x
dayes, begininge the xxjth of Novembre,
and endid the laste of the same, as by
one warraunte, signed by the lorde lieu-
tenaunte, dated the xxvjth of January,
together with his acquitaunce apperithe, cciiij^{li} xvj^d

Sir Henrye Gate, knight, capten of foote-
men, his wages at xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s.
vj officers at xij^d per diem the pece,
and cij soldiers at viij^d per diem the
pece for xxxvj dayes, begining the xxvth
of Novembre, and ending the xxxth of
Decembre followinge ; and for clxxj
soldiers at viij^d the pece for xxxv dayes,
begininge the xxvth of Novembre, and
ending as before ; and for xij soldiers at
like rate for ix dayes, begining the xxvjth
of Novembre, and endid the iiijth of De-

cembre 1569, as by one warraunte and acquittaunce doth appere, - - - ccclxviij^{li} xiiij^s
 Sir William Babthorpe, knighte, capten of footemen, his one wages xij^s. lieutenante vj^s. vj officers at xij^d the pece; and clxxvij soldiers at viij^d the pece per diem for xxxij dayes, begining the xxjst of Novembre, and ending the xxijth of Decembre; for c soldiers at like rate for xij dayes, begining the xjth of Decembre, and ending the xxijth of the same; for xiiij soldiers dischardged at like rate for xiiij dayes, begining the xxjst of Novembre, and ending the iijth of Decembre; for ij soldiers for xxij dayes, ending the xijth of Decembre; and for vj soldiers at like rate for xix dayes, ending the ixth of Decembre 1569, as by one warraunt and acquitaunce apperithe, - - - - - cclxxviij^{li} x^s viij

William Hungate, esquire, capten of footemen, his one wages at xij^s. his lieutenante vj^s. fyve officers at xij^d the pece; and for ciiij^{xx} xij soldiers at viij^d per diem the pece for xxxiiij dayes, begining the xxth of Novembre, and endid the xxiiijth of Decembre for xiiij soldiers for xiiij dayes, begining the xxjst of Novembre; and for iiiij^{xx} xv soldiers for xiiij^s dayes, begining the xjth of Decembre, and endid the xxiiij^d of the same, as by one warraunt and acquittaunce dothe appere, - - - - - cciiij^{xx} xvj^{li} viij^s viij^d

John Herbert, capten of footemen, his one wages viij^s. his lieutenaunte iiiij^s. ensingebearer ij^s. sirjaunts and one grome at xij^d per diem the pece, and for clxx

soldiors at viij^d per diem the pece, for xxxv dayes, beg. the xixth of November, and endid the xxij^d of Decembre: for lxxij soldiors, at like rate, for xv dayes, beg. the ixth of December, and endid the xxij^d of the same: for viij soldiors discharged, for xvj dayes, beg. the xixth of November; for iiij soldiors discharged, beg. as before, for xij dayes; and for xxij soldiors, for xiiij dayes, beg. the xixth of Novembre, and endid the second of Decembre, 1569, as by one warraunt acquittaunce aperith, - - - cclxxviij^{li} xvii viij^d

Thomas Farefaxe, esquire, capten of c. footemen, his one wages iiij^s. lieutenants ij^s. his ensingbearer, sirjente, and grome, at xij^d per diem the pece, for xxxij dayes, beg. the xxth of Novembre, and endid xxij^d of Decembre; and for c. soldiors at viij^d the pece, for xij dayes, beg. the xith of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of the same, as by warraunt and his acquittaunce dothe appere - - - liiij^{li} viij^s

Richarde Tempeste, esquire, capten of footemen, his one wages viij^s. lieutenante iiij^s. and fyve officers at xij^d the pece, and xij soldiors at viij^d the pece per diem, for xix dayes, beg. the iiijth of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d of the same; and ciiij^{xx}viij soldiors for xij dayes, beg. the xjth of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of the same, 1569, by warraunt and acquittaunce - - - iiij^{xx}xviij^{li} xix^s

John Constable, esquire, capten of footemen, his one wages xij^s. his lieutenante vj^s. vj officers at xij^d the pece, and xlj soldiors at viij^d the pece per diem, for

xxxij dayes, beg. the xxjst of Novembre,
and endid the xxij of Decembre; and
for ccxxxix soldiars for xij^d dayes, beg.
the xjth of Dec. and endid the xxij^d of
the same, 1569, as by warraunte and
acquittaunce apperithe, - - - clxxvij^{li} xiiij^s viij^d

Edwarde Ellerker, esquire, capten of foote-
men, his one wages viij^s. lieutenaunt iiij^s.
v officers at xij^d the pece, and xij sol-
diors at viij^d the pece per diem, for xxxij
dayes, beg. the xxj of Novembre, and
endid the xxijth of Decembre, and for
ciiiij^{xxix} (189) soldiars for xij dayes, beg.
the xjth of Decembre, and ending the
xxij^d of the same, as by warraunte and
acquittaunce aperithe - - - cxv^{li} xij^s

Cotton Gargrave, esquire, capten, his wages
xij^s. lieutenaunte vj^s. v officers at xij^d
the pece, and for xliij soldiars at viij^d
per diem the pece, for xxxij dayes, beg.
the xxj of Novembre, and ending the
xxij of Decembre, and for ccxlv soldiars
at like rate, for xij dayes, beg. the xjth
of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d of the
same, by warraunt and acquittaunce ciiiij^{xxli} iiij^s iiij^d

Michael Thompson, capten, for his wages
iiij^s. lieutenaunt ij^s. iiij officers at xij^d the
pece, and for lxiiij soldiars at viij^d per
diem the pece, for xxvj dayes, beg. the
xxvijth of Novembre, and end. the xxij^d
of Decembre: for xlj soldiars for xxv
dayes, beg. the xxvijth of Novembre,
and endid the xxij^d of Decembre: for
x soldiars xxij dayes, beg. the firste of
Decembre, and endid as before: for viij
soldiars for xvij dayes, beg. the vth of
Decembre; and for xxix soldiars for xij

dayes, beg. the xjth of Decembre, and
 endid as before, as by warraunt and ac-
 quittaunce apperithe - - - cxxv^{li} x^s

John Ingleby, esquire, capten, his wages
 viij^s. lieutenaunt iiij^s. iiij officers at xij^d
 the pece, and cxlv soldiours at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xxxiiij dayes, beg.
 the xixth of Novembre, and endid the
 xxij^d of Decembre: for xxx soldiours dis-
 charged, at like rate, for xiiij dayes, endid
 the firste of Decembre; and for iiij^{xxv}
 soldiours, at like rate, for xiiij dayes, beg.
 the ixth of Decembre, and endid the xxij^d
 of the same, by warraunt and acquit-
 taunce - - - cclxviij^{li} xviij^s iiij^d

Sir William Farefaxe, knight, capten, for
 his wages viij^s. lieutenaunte iiij^s. v offi-
 cers at xij^d the pece, and lxij soldiours at
 viij^d the pece per diem, for xxxiiij dayes,
 beg. the xxth of Novembre, and endid
 the xxij^d of Decembre: for lxx soldiours
 for xxxij dayes, endid as before: for
 lxxviij soldiours for vj dayes, endid as be-
 fore: for xlix soldiours for vj dayes, endid
 the xxvjth of the same: for v soldiours for
 xiiij dayes, endid the iiijth of Decembre;
 and for twoe soldiours for xvij dayes, beg.
 the xxj of Novembre, and endid the viij
 of Decembre, by one warraunte and ac-
 quittaunce, - - - cccxv^{li} ix^s

Sir Richarde Chalmeley, knight, capten,
 for his wages iiij^s. lieutenaunte ii^s. fyve
 officers at xij^d the pece per diem, and
 for iiij^{xx}xij soldiours at viij^d per diem the
 pece, for viij dayes, beg. the xxith of
 Novembre, and endid the xxviij of the

same : to him more for his wages, at xij^s.
 lieutenaunte vj^s. v officers at xij^d the
 pece ; and for ccxlv soldiors, at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xxv dayes, beg. the
 xxixth of Novembre, and endid the xxij
 of Dec. ; for xvi soldiors for xiii dayes,
 endid the xxij^d of Decembre ; and
 for xvij soldiors discharged for vj
 dayes, beg. the xxixth of November, and
 endid the iiijth of Decembre, by war-
 raunte and acquittaunce, - - - cclxxij^s ij^s viij^d

Sir Henry Gate, knight, capten of Scar-
 borowe Castell, for the wages of xl foote-
 men, soldiors servinge there, for xxv dayes
 after, viij^d the pece per diem, beg. the
 vth of Decembre, and endid the xxixth
 of the same, by warraunte and acquit-
 taunce - - - xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d

Anthony Digbye, esquire, capten, for his
 one wages xij^s. his lieutenaunte vj^s. v
 officers at xij^d the pece, and for cciiij^{xx}xj
 soldiors, at viij^d the pece per diem, for
 xxij dayes, beg. the firste of Decembre,
 and endid the xxij^d of the same ; and for
 twoe deade soldiors for xiiij dayes, endid
 the xiiijth of Decembre, by warraunte
 and acquittaunce, - - - ccxxxix^{li} xij^s viij^d

Fraunces Slingsby, esquire, capten, his
 one wages viij^s. lieutenaunte iiij^s. iiij of-
 ficers at xij^d the pece, and for cxxviij
 soldiors, at viij^d per diem the pece, for
 xxxij dayes, beg. the xxjst of Novembre,
 and endid the xxij^d of Decembre ; and
 for the wages of lxv soldiors, at viij^d the
 pece per diem, for xij dayes, beg. the
 xjth of Decembre, and endid as afore, by
 warraunte and acquittaunce - - - ciiij^{xx}viij^{li} ij^s viij^d

Sir George Bowes, knight, for the wages
 of a lieutenaunte at ij^s per diem, and c.
 footemen at vij^d per diem the pece, for
 garde of the prisoners, for $xxiiij$ dayes,
 beg. the $xvii^{th}$ of Dec. and endid the x^{th}
 of January, by warraunte and acquit-
 taunce, - - - $iiij^{xxij^{ll}} vij^s$

Sir Thomas Gargrave, knighte, by warraunt
 of the lorde lieutenaunte, dated the laste
 of Novembre, 1569, for the chardges of
 him self and c. soldiors, appointed for
 the safe keapinge of Pontefrake Castell,
 and the passages at bridges at Ferrybrige,
 Castelforthe brigge, Swillington brigge,
 and Leedes brigge, extendinge over the
 ryver of Ayre, as by the saide warraunt,
 together with his acquittaunce apperithe $cxij^{ll} x^s$

Leonarde Knappe, capten of c. harquebut-
 zers, his owne wages $iiij^s$. lieutenaunte
 ij^s . $iiij$ officers at xij^d the pece, and for
 $iiij^{xx}xvj$ soldiors at vij^d the pece per diem,
 for $xlix$ dayes, beg. the v^{th} of Decembre,
 and endid the $xxij^d$ of January; and for
 $iiij$ soldiors for $xxxj$ dayes, beg. the
 $xxiiij^d$ of Dec. and endid as before, by
 warraunte and acquittaunce, - $ciiij^{xxv^{ll}} vij^s vij^d$

John Pragell, capten of c. footemen har-
 quebuzers, his one wages $iiij^s$. lieute-
 naunte ij^s . one ensinge, one seriaunte, one
 grome, and one surgeon, at xij^d per diem
 the pece; and for lxx soldiors at vij^d
 per diem the pece, for $xlix$ dayes, beg.
 the v^{th} of Decembre, and endid the $xxij^d$
 of January, 1569; for ij soldiors for
 $xxxvj$ dayes, beg. the $xvii^{th}$ of Decem-
 ber; and for $xxviiij$ soldiors for $xxxj$
 dayes, beg. the $xxiiij^d$ of Decembre, and

endid the same xxij^d of January, as by
warraunt and acquittance apperithe, clxxⁱⁱ iij^s iiij^d
Nicholas Aldaie, Thomas Muffet and Tho.

Greslinge, captene every of them of c.
men, for there severall enterteignements,
at iij^s the pece, there lieutenantes at
ij^s the pece, there ensings, seriaunts,
gromes, and surgens, every of them at
xij^d; and the saide ccc. footemen at viij^d
per diem the pece, for xj dayes, beg. the
xiiijth of January, and endid the xxiiijth
of the same, and then dischardged, cxxvjⁱⁱ
x^s. and for the conducte monye of the
said soldiors, at xx^d the pece, xxvⁱⁱ. as
by one warraunte and acquittance dothe
appere, - - - - -

cljⁱⁱ x^s

iiijm.lxxixⁱⁱ xvj^d

*Wages of Horsmen and Footemen, which
came from Barwicke and Theste
Marches.*

Also the saide accomptaunte is allowed, by vertue of the
lyeutenante, his warraunte, dated at Yorke, the xxixth
of January, 1569, the somm of m.lxxvijⁱⁱ xiiij^s ij^d for so-
muche money by him defrayed and payed to Valentyne
Browne, esquier, treasurer of Barwicke, for wages by
him payed to horsmen and footemen, which came to
Barwicke and the Marches, for there service in the saide
armye, by the space of one monithe, begininge the xxixth
of Novembre, 1569, and endid the xxvjth of Decembre
following, viz. To

Thomas Claveringe, in preste for c. lighte
horsmen, broughte oute of theste marches,
xxvⁱⁱ; William Hilton, likewise, in preste
for c. horsmen, xⁱⁱ, and to William Sel-
bye, also in preste for c. horsmen, xⁱⁱ xl^v

Raphe Ellerker, capten of pistolats, and
 harquebzares with pistolates one hors-
 backe, him self at vj^s. his lieutenaunt
 iij^s. one trompeter and one guidon at ij^s
 the pece, lxj pistolatts and harquebzars
 at xvj^d the pece, and xx lighte horsmen
 at xij^d the pece per diem, for the saide
 monithe, and for xxxij of the saide pis-
 tolats, entred at Yorke for vij dayes more,
 at xvj^d the pece per diem, in all - clxv^{li} xij^s iij^d
 John Case, capten of lightehorsmen, his
 owne wages at vj^s. lieutenaunt iij^s. trom-
 petor and guidon at ij^s the pece, and c.
 lightehorsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece
 for the said monithe, - - cciiij^{li} xvij^s iij^d
 Capten Brickewell, capten of c. & l. sol-
 diors, his owne wages vj^s. lieutenaunte
 iii^s. ensinge, seriente, and grome at xvij^d
 the pece; and c. & l. soldiors at viij^d per
 diem the pece, for the saide monithe, clviij^{li} xvij^s
 Capten Carewe, for himself, his officers,
 and c. soldiors, at like rate and tyme, cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d
 Capten Vaxley, for himself, his officers,
 and c. soldiors, at like rate and tyme, cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d
 Capten Barwicke, for himself, his officers,
 and iij^{xx} soldiors, at like rate and tyme, iij^{xx}viij^{li} v^s iij^d
 Capten Carvill, for c. soldiors at like rate,
 cv^{li} xvij^s viij^d. and for wages of the
 saide capten, his officers, and l. soldiors,
 for ix dayes more then the residewe of
 the bandes, xvij^{li} vj^d - - - cxxij^{li} xix^s ij^d
 One master gonner at xx^d per diem, and
 xij other at severall rates and tymes, xxj^{li}
 The clerke of thordinance and xvj limm
 and carte horses with twoe fiede peces,
 and carts for carriage of armore and
 municion - - - xlix^{li} xv^s viij^d
 VOL. II. 3 L

To the lord Hunsdons man for postinge.

chardges - - - - - vij^{li} vij^s vj^d

And to thtreasurer of Barwicke, for re-

wardes gyven for carriage of letters lix^s vj^d

m.lxxvij^{li} xiiij^s ij^d

In all, paide by vertue of the saide warraunte, vouched in particularits as aforesaide, under thande of the saide Valentyne Browne.

Wages for keaping of the Towne of Newcastle.

To Thomas Gower, esquire, serving in Newcastle, his owne enterteignement at iiij^s per diem, and twoe lightehorsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece, for lxj dayes, beginning the laste of Octobre, and endid the xxixth of Decembre, 1569; and for twoe lightehorsmen at xvj^d per diem the pece, and fowre footemen at viij^d per diem the pece, for lvj dayes, beg. the vth of Novembre, and endid as before, by warraunte of the said lorde lieutenaunte, geven at Durisme, the xijth of January. Anno duodecimo dom. Elizabeth reg.

together with his acquittaunce, xxxv^{li} v^s iiij^d

Sea victuellinge.

Also allowed for money paid to the mayor of Kingston upon Hull, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenaunte, dated at Yorke xxixth January, 1569, (70) for chardges of one shippe called the George, a Hulle, of the burthen of c. tonnes, with l. mariners and soldiors, for there wages, victuells, and other necessities, for one

monithe, beg. the iiijth of Dec. and endid
the ij of January, appointed to serve upon
the seas, by ordre of the saide lorde lieu-
tenaunte, lxxj^{li} v^s vij^d. ob. and for the
fraighte of armore and municion from
Newcastell to the saide towne, cvj^s viij^d
as by the saide warraunte and acquit-
taunce doth appere, - - - lxxvj^{li} xij^s iij^d. ob.

And also allowed for money paid to sir
Henry Gate, knight, by warraunte of the
lorde lieutenaunte, dated at Yorke xxix^o
January, 1569, (70) for so moche money by
him deburced, for victuelling, wages, and
other chardges of a smale barke of warre,
called the Ellinor, of Saltash, apointed
for service on the seas againste the rebells
in the northe, by the space of fyve weks
within the tyme of this accompte, viz.
for victuells xx^{li} ix^s ij^d. reparacion of
the saide barke, xxxij^s ix^d. for gonne
powder, x^{li} xij^s iij^d. and for the wages
of the said shippe, xxxij men and iij
boyes, which servid in the same for the
said tyme, xxiiij^{li} xij^s. as by a bill of the
particularities therof, and his acquit-
taunce apperithe, - - - lviij^{li} vij^s iij^d.
----- cxxxiiij^{li} xix^s vj^d. ob.

Coate and conducte Money.

Also allowed for money paide to diversē persons for coate
and conducte money, by vertue of sondrye warrauntēs
directed to the saide tréasourer from the saide lorde lieu-
tenaunt, viz. to

William lorde Ewrye, for coate money of
cj. soldiars, at iij^s iij^d the pece, xvj^{li} xvj^s.

vij^d; to sir William Babthorpe, knight, for the like coate money of cc. soldiours, at like rate, xxxij^{li} vj^s vij^d; to sir Wm. Farefaxe, knt. for coate money of clxxv soldiours, at like rate, xxix^{li} iij^s iij^d; to Cotton Gargrave, for the like for x soldiours, xxxij^s iij^d; to John Constable, for xl soldiours, at like rate, vj^{li} xij^s iij^d; to Edwarde Ellerker, for xij soldiours, at the like rate, xl^s; to Frauncis Slingsbye, for coate money of cxxxv soldiours, at like rate, xxij^{li} x^s; to William Hungate, for ciij^{xx} vj soldiours at like rate, xxxi^{li}; and to John Inglebye, the like coate money of clxiiij soldiours, at like rate of iij^s iij^d the pece, xxvii^{li} vj^s vij^d; in all, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenante, dated xxvj^o Novembre, anno xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. together with there severall acquittaunces, - - -

clxx^{li} x^s

Sir Henrye Gate, K. for coate money of cth soldiers (xvj^{li} xij^s iij^d), and to John Herberte for the like for cciiij^{or} soldiers, at iij^s iij^d the pece (xxxiiij^{li}), by warraunte of the lord lieutenante, dated 28^o November, anno xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. as by the same and acquit, apperithe - - -

li^{li} xij^s iij^d

Sir Richarde Cholmelye, K. for the coate money of ciij^{xx} iii soldiers at iij^s iij^d the pece, by warraunte, dated v^o December, anno xij^{mo} reg. pred. and his acquit, - - -

xxx^{li} x^s

Sir John Constable, K. for money by him deburcid for the wages of cccth soldiers for thre meales conducte to Yorke out of

Holdernes, by warr. datid iijth Decem-
 ber 1569, and acquittaunce, - xvth
 In all, as by the saide warraunte and ac- }
 quittaunces, apperithe - } cclxvjth xiiij^s iiij^d

Chardges touching the great Ordinaunce,
viz. to

Humfrey Barwicke, master of thordi-
 naunce for the feilde, for his one enter-
 teignemente at x^s per diem, allowed be-
 fore in the tyle of thofficers, thre lighte
 horsmen attendinge upon the ordi-
 naunce at xvj^d per diem the pece for
 xxxix dayes, beg. the xxth of Novem-
 ber, and end. the xxviiijth of Decembre;
 thre footemen attending upon the car-
 riages, at viij^d the pece per diem, and
 one clerke at ij^s per diem for xxxiiij
 dayes, beg. the xx of Novembre, and
 end the xxijth of Decembre; for one
 master gonner, at ij^s per diem, for xxxj
 dayes, beg. the xxviiijth of Novembre;
 one master gonners mate at xij^d per
 diem, for xxxviiij dayes, endid the
 xxviiijth of Decembre; twoe other gon-
 ners at viij^d per diem the pece, for xxiiij
 dayes, beg. the xxviiijth of Novembre;
 for one master capenter and his man, at
 xx^d per diem, for xxviiijth dayes, beg.
 the xxviiijth of November; for one mas-
 ter smithe, one whealer, at xij^d per diem
 the pece, and twoe men at viij^d per diem
 the pece, for xxiiij dayes, beg. as before;
 for iiij carpenters, at x^d the pece, and

viiij other carpenters at viij^d the pece,
for xij dayes, beg. the xth of Decem-
bre; and to the said Humfrey Bar-
wicke, capten of pyones, himselfe at
iiij^s per diem, and one hundrithe py-
ones, at vj^d per diem the pece, for xij
dayes, beg. the xth of Decembre, and
endid the xxjth of the same, by war-
raunte, dated xvij^o Januar. anno xij^o
dom. Elizabeth reg. - - - - - lxiiij^{li} xvij^s

To the said Humfrey Barwicke for sondrye
chardges touching the saide greate or-
dinaunce, as by a book of the parcells
doth appere, paide by warraunte of the
saide lorde lieutenante, dated xxix^o Ja-
nuar. 1569 (70), annexed to the saide
booke, together with his acquit. - - - - - lxxiiij^{li} vij^s v^d

The same Humfrey Barwicke, by war-
raunte, dated iij^{to} Decembre 1569, for
conveaunce by water of armore and
municion from Kingston-upon-Hull to
Yorke, viz. to the master of the keale
lxxij^s, and to the marrynors for there
chardges iiij^{li} xj^s iiij^d - - - - - viij^{li} iij^s iiij^d

John Wildinge, master boweyer of ordi-
naunce in the northe partes, for the
chardges of bringinge by shippe of cer-
ten armore and municion from Newcas-
tell unto Kingstone upon-Hull, and re-
torninge backe, by warrante, dated iij^{to}
Decembre 1569, - - - - - liij^s ij^d

cl^{li} xj^d

Christofer Rupton, comissarye of the cariages for thar-
mye in the northe partes, under thordre of the saide lorde
lieutenant, as well for conducte and hier of carts from
sondrye places, as for wages of carters and others attending
upon the same, and for wages of clerks and servaunts of
the saide commissarye from the begin. of the same; car-
riages beg. the vjth of Decembre 1569, and endid the firste
of Januarye followinge; which cariages were employed
as well for carriage of armore and municion, as also for
carriage of victuells and otherwise for the saide armye, as
by one booke of particularities dothe appere, paide by
warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, datid at Yorke xxix^o
Januar. 1569 (70), as by the same and his acquit. annexed
to the said booke doth appere, over and besides cvij^s for
his fee, at iij^s per diem, for the said tyme allowed before
in the tytyle of cheif officers,

William Davill, purveyor of the victuells for the saide armye,
viz. for empcion of bredde xliij^{li}, beare xviii^{li}, close cartes
ix^{li} iij^s iiij^d, lockes for the same xxiij^s, and hoopes for caskes
xiiij^s iiij^d—cxij^{li} xviiij^s viij^d. For wastes and losses in the
same empcion, viz. in bredde x^{li} viij^s, and beare xxij^{li}—
xxxij^{li} viij^s. And for wages, viz. to bakers xxiiij^s, whele-
wrights xxvj^s, coupers xxj^s viij^d, labourers xvj^s viij^d, and
twoe men attending the percons and carriages for xiiij dayes,
at ij^s viii^d per diem xxxiiiiij^s viij^d—viiij^{li} x^s viij^d, in all, over
and besides iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d, alowed to him before in the tytle
of officer for his fee for the saide xiiij dayes, at vj^s viij^d per
diem, cliij^{li} xviij^s iiij^d; wherof defalked for money by the
said Davill rec. of the captens for part of the percons afore-
said, lxviiij^{li} xij^s; and so loste and allowed by warraunte of
the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxix^o Decembre 1569,

Conducte of Treasoure, To

Sir Thomas Gargrave, knighte, for the wages of chardges of the lorde Darcy and himself, with $\text{iiij}^{\text{xx}} \text{iiij}^{\text{or}}$ horsmen, for the safe conducting of the quenes majesties treasore from Doncaster to Yorke, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xj^{o} Decembre 1569, together with his acquit, - xxvj^{li}

Matthew Usher, servaunte to the saide sir Thom. Gargrave, for the chardges of xxix horsmen and there horses, appointed for the safe conveyance of the quenes majesties treasore from Yorke to Newcastle, by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenant, dated xxix^{o} Januarij anno 1569 (70), and his acquit. xxij^{li} xiiij^{s} viiij^{d}

Roberte Parke, servaunte to sir Raphe Sadler, knight, thresorer of tharmye, for the chardges of himself and certen horsmen, sente by ordre of the saide treasurer from Durisme to Borowebritte, for receving of the quenes treasoure broughte thether by Edward Aglionbye, esquire; wherof $\text{viiij}^{\text{m}} \text{d}^{\text{li}}$ was delivered by the saide Roberte Parke to thandes of Roberte Carre, esquire, thresorer of tharmye, levied in the southe, and xvc^{li} , the reasidewe of the saide treasore broughte from Borowebritte aforesaide to Durisme, - x^{li} vj^{s} viiij^{d}

 lix^{li} xvj^{d}

*Postinge and ridinge Chardges with others,
by warrauntes, viz.*

To Thomas Baylis, for carriage of lettres from Yorke to Hull, by warraunte of the lorde lieutenante, dated v ^{to} Decembre 1569,	-	-	iiij ^s vj ^d
Reginalde Warrope, for his chardges in goinge and cominge poste with lettres to and from the lorde Scrope, cxvj ^s ; and to William Maddockes, for his chardges to Hull and Ferrybrigge, and his retorne in post, xxvij ^s iiij ^d , by warraunte of the saide lorde lieutenante, dated at Yorke, viij ^o Decembre 1569,	-	-	vij ^{li} iij ^s iiij ^d
John Skaife, pursyaunte, for his costs and chardges for carriage and conveyenge, as well certen poste lettres as other lettres, by comaundmente of the lorde lieutenante, by warraunte, dated at Yorke, viij ^o Decembre 1569, together with a booke of particularities, mencioninge his several iournies and services, signed with thandes of Matthew Hutton, deane of Yorke, and Thomas Eynnes, esquire, and with his acquit,	-	-	xij ^{li} xvij ^s viij ^d
Nicholas Arrington depeached with lettres to the regente of Scotlande, for his chardges to and from, by warraunte, dated at Newcastle, xix ^o Decembre 1569, and his acquit,	-	-	vj ^{li} xij ^s iiij ^d
Capten Stirley, for his chardges ridinge in poste, with lettres by ordre of the saide thresorer, from Yorke to the courte, in Decembre 1569,	-	-	c ^s
VOL. II.			3 M

Sir George Bowes, K. marshall of the saide armye, for the chardges of horses and men that kepte the same for the settinge of the garrysons of Barwicke one horsbacke in her majesties service in this jorney, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, v^{to} Januar. 1569, together with his acquit. - - - xlj^{li} xij^s vj^d

Sir Henry Gate, K. in preste towards his jorney sente into Scotlande by the quenes majesties one appointement to be defaultked upon suche enterteigment as shall be allowed him by her majestie for that jorney, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, x^{mo} Januar. 1569, and his acquit. - - - lⁱⁱ

Gregory Burgoyes, surgeon, and his twoe men, attendinge upon all the horsmen, for there wages, at v^s per diem, for xl dayes, beg. the xijth of Decembre 1569, and ending the xxth of January followinge, by warraunte, dated at Durisme, xxj^o die Januar. and his acquittance, x^{li}

George Frevell, gent. servaunte to the lorde lieutenante, for his sondrye chardges, viz. sente by the saide lorde lieutenante in poste, with lettres to the quenes majestie, and diverse tymes in message to therles of Northumberlande and Westmoreland, upon receipte of lettres from her highnes; and to the bushoppe of Durisme, for conferaunce of matters touching her majesties service, and sondrye tymes with lettres and messages to the erle of Warwicke and the lorde admirall, for supplye of men to have ben sente to Yorke; and also, for conveyinge of certen dagges and pistolatts,

wherin he hath defrayed, for his post-
 inge chardges in theise several jorneyes,
 the some of xl^{li}, paid unto him by war-
 raunte of the said lorde lieutenante, da-
 ted at Yorke, the xxviiijth of January
 1569, as by the saide warraunte, toge-
 ther with his acquittance, mencioninge
 receipte of the saide some, apperithe xl^{li}

 clxxiiij^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d

Moneye delivered in preste.

And also, the saide accomptaunte is allowed forsomuche
 money of the quenes majesties treasure, being parcell
 of his saide chardge, as the same, by ordre from her
 majestie, hath delivered in preste by thandes of Ro-
 berte Parke, his clerke, to thandes of Roberte Carre,
 esquire, treasurer of her majesties armye, levied in
 the southe, for defraye and paymente of the saide ar-
 mye, as by thacquit. of the said Roberte Carre, dated
 at Burrowebrigge, tertio die Januarij 1569, and anno
 xij^{mo} dom. Elizabeth reg. mencioninge the receipte of
 eighte thousande and fyve hundrethe poundes here,
 upon being seen and examined, dothe appere - viij^m d^{li}

Some of all the saide payments and allowances, .xx^mdccl^{li} viij^s vij^d ob.

And so remayneth in thandes of the said accomp-
 taunte, - - -

 ccclxxvj^{li} iiij^s vj^d ob.

Wherof, allowed to the saide accomptaunte, by ordre of the lorde thresorer and chauncellor, upon the declaracion of this accompte, viz. for the wages of fortye horsmen of his owne servauntes, at xvj^d per diem the pece, for lxxix dayes, begone the xvijth of November, and end. the iiijth of February 1569, ccxl^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d; for iiij horses and twoe men, for cariage of treasure from Newcastle to Exhame and backe againe to Newcastle for ix dayes, xxxvj^s; for twoe carriages from Durhame to Yorke, for iiij dayes after discharge of the comissarye of the carriages, xxxij^s; for the wages of x partizens, attendinge upon the treasurer, at viij^d per diem the pece, for lxiiij dayes, begininge the xxiiijth of Novembre 1569, and ending the xxvjth of Januarye followinge, which was the daye of his retorne to Yorke, xxj^{li} vj^s viij^d; for wages of twoe clerkes, for the saide lxxix dayes, at ij^s the pece per diem, xv^{li} xvj^s; for chests, bagges, and other necessities occupied in the saide treasurer's office for the saide tyme, x^{li}; and for the chardges of his clerks and servauntes, attending the makinge, declaracion, and ingrossinge of this accompte, xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d; amountinge in all to cclxxiiij^{li} x^s viij^d. And so yet remaynith in thandes of the saide accomptaunte cj^{li} xiiij^s x^d ob. ; which some of one hundrethe one pounce thirtene shillings tenne pence and one haulfe pennye, the said accomptaunte hathe paide into the receipte of theschequire the thirde daye of Marche anno duodecimo dom. Elizabeth reg. as by one tallye therof dothe appere.

And so then the saide accomptaunte from this his saide accompte is clerely dischargd and quyte.

WHINCHESTER,
WA. MILDMAVE.

Ex. per JOHEN HAMBY, Auditorem.

APPENDIX
TO
SADLER'S LETTERS
CONCERNING THE
NORTHERN INSURRECTION.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ROLL of ATTAINDERS of such REBELS as were forfeited
for the Northern Insurrection, 1569-70.

In a Booke in the custody of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, conteyning the Survey of the Lands of such Rebels as tooke parte with therles of Northumberland and Westmerland.---(Dodsworth, Vol. 49, f. 55. Bodleian Lib^y. Oxon.)

TERRÆ Caroli Nevill Comitis Westmerl.

Castrum et Ma. de Sherife Hoton Co. Ebor.

Terræ H. Percy Comitis Northumbrie.

Terræ Leonardi Dacre.

Maner de West Herlesay Co. Ebor.

Summa Antiq. Valor, xxviii*l.* viii*s.* iii ob.

Maner de East Herlesay. summa. vi solid. et ii obol.

Maner de Dalston, viii*l.* xix*s.* viii ob. concess. inter alia per literas pat. Henrico Dno. Hunsdon.

Reddit in East Runcton, iii*l.* 0*s.* iii obol. in reversione p. mort.

Elize Brandon modo ux: Christoferi Nevell ar: confiscat. ut infra dict.

Reddit. in Middleton, *iiii℥ vii s. vii obol.* de claro in revert. p. mort. Elize Brandon prædictæ.

Maneriam de Kirby Knowle.

Reddit. annual. ex Castro de Upsall de antiquo, *xxvi s. viii obol.*

Reddit. ad voluntat. in Appelby, *viii sol.* concess. H. Dno. Hunsdon.

Northumb. Maner de Newsham in Huntloe redd *viii℥. iiis. viii ob.*

Maner de Howick et Wollore, *viii℥* in reversione p. mort. Elize Brandon. p. indran. Jac. Straungways, ar. dat. 6 Jul. 2 A° Ed. 6.

Ebor. Terræ Nicholai Norton attinct.

Maner de Norton Conyers et Maner de Norton Salley in Co. Ebor. val. *ix℥. iiis. viii ob.*

Maner de Cr...ston redd. *xii℥. v s. viii d.* concess. Thome et Wilhelmo Norton pro vitis. (idem Thomas attinct. pro alta prodicione,) ut patet carta. 20 Octi. 36, H. 8.

Christofer Stott fil. Will. Stott attincti. ten. un. maner. in Rippon.

Terræ Ricardi Norton Ar. attincti.

Maner de Rilston, val. *lxxiiii℥. xv s. vii ob.* in dominio et reddit.

Maner de Hitton (vel Hiltone) *iiii℥. iiis.*

Maner de Threshfield, *xxxiiii℥. xix s. v ob.*

Maner de Lynton, *xxiii℥. vii s. ob.* et reddit ilm *xliis. iiis ob.*

Reddit Terr. in Snitall, *iiii℥. vid.*

Maner de Hertford. *xlvi℥. xiv s. iv obol.*

Reddit in Westhall in Appleton, *xiii℥. vis. viii d.*

Medictas Maner. de Westhall prædictæ concess. Wilto Norton pr. cartam Johis Norton patris prædictæ Ries Norton, dat. 30. H. 8.

Terræ Henrici Johnson.

Tenant. in Walton. med. maner. de Leathley, *xxiii℥. iiis.*

Maner. de Farnley, *viii℥.*

Terræ Johis Fulthorpe.

Maner. de Thurkleby, val. *xxiii℥. x s. viii d.*

Cap. maner et tree dnical. Willi. Fulthorpe pris. prædicte Johis
in reversione.

Terræ Walter Pasleur An.

Maner de Harden in Bingley, val. xlvi*l.* v*s.* viii*d.*

Terr. Simonis Digby attinet.

Bedole Man. Scilt mediet. lxx*l.* ix*s.* iiiii*d.*

Aiscough Kipling et Melsanbye membra maner prædicte.

Terr. Johis Gower Ar.

Reddit in Lounwath infr. vel. de Richmond, xx*l.* vi*s.* 0*d.*

Reddit. tenen. in Huddeswell, xlix*l.* iiiii*d.*

Reddit in Bardon, vi*l.* viii*s.* iiiii*d.*

Scitus Monaster. Scæ. Agathæ val. xl*l.*

Reddit tenen. in Darlington in Epal. Dunolm xx*l.*

Terr. Thome Markinfield, attinet.

Tenen. Maner de Romanby, val. xlii*l.* xvii*s.* viii*d.*

Maner de Eriholme, xli*l.* vii*s.* viii*d.*

Reddit in Unthanke infra Parochiam de Romalldkirke, Com.

Ebor. xxvi*l.* viii*d.*

Terr. in Ellerton et Bolton, x*s.* v*d.*

Maner de Carleton Numjot, xi*s.* vi*d.*

Reddit in Sand holon. xx*s.* ii*d.*

Redd. in Holme, lxx*l.* iiiii*d.*

Scitus Monaster. de Markington ten. p. Willm Markinfield, xiii*l.*
iiii*s.*

Item Robt. Markinfield ten. 1 tentum in Dalbanke, p. cart.

Thome Markenfield sen. dat 3 Aug. 30 H. 8.

Reddit in Bp. Munkton, iiiii solid.

in Wallingthwayt, lxxii*l.* xi*d.*

in Thorpe (sed quere ita) xvi*s.* viii*d.*

in Bondgate, infra Rippon, iii*l.* xx*d.*; in Westgate, ibm.

xx*s.* viii*d.*; in foro equor. ibm. Suma reddit in Rip-
pon, vi*l.* xiv*s.* i*d.*

in Winkesley, vi*l.* vii*d.*

Reddit in Grantley, lii solid.

in Scruton, xiiii*l.* vii*s.* viii*d.*

Scitus Manem. de Markenfield, xviii*l.* xiii*s.*

N. B. Markenfield is near Rippon. I believe at present the property of Norton, Lord Grantley.

Terræ Thome Bishop, atineti.

Redd. liberor. tenen. in Pocklington cum membres clar. per ann.

xxxx. v. vi.

Terr. Leonardi Metcalfe.

Redd. Maner de Kirby, Mallom dale, vi*l.* iii*s.* ii*d.*

Redd. Maner de Hanlethe, viii*s.* ix*d.*

Redd. in Gargrave, xviii*s.*

Redd. Customar Tenen. in Oulcotes, lxx*s.*

Redd. in Howkenuke in Littondale, lxviii*s.*

Redd. in Arncliffe, lxvi*s.*

Redd. tenen. in Bers Parke in Paroch. de ... *ar.* by

Redd. terr. in ... arrgby, lii*s.* viii*d.*

Terr. Johis Cooper.

Redd. ten. in ... lkswicke infra Paroch. de Harwood, ita l*lg.* vid.

Redd. tenen. in Woodhall in Flemingbrough Cli....

Terr. Johis Saltmersh jure ux. Scilt firma et arum ptium scitus mansional de. Redness in tres dions.

Terr. Robt. Hughington.

Redd. vi solid. ita.

Terr. Christoferi Nevill, ar. jure ux. ut dos sua redd. tenen. ad volunt. in Hippleswell, xvi*l.* vs. vid.

Tuma ten. dnical. et al tenen. ibm. xix*l.* iii*s.* vid.

Redd. in Langmires et Walwith ubi Elgidius Fulthorpe, sen.

ten. totam firm ad tum, xxx annos. p. cart. Joh. Fulthorpe,

etat 21, die Apr. 1 et 2, Ph. et Mar. xxvii*l.* xiii*s.* iii*d.*

Summa tuam de Langmires et Hippleswell, lxiii*l.* iii*s.* iii*d.* de

quibz in annuit. Christoferi et Simonis Fulthorpe sibi con-

- cess. p. termino vite p^r ult. voluntat. Johis Fulthorp prius sui excun. de turis in Walwith, vii l. viii s. iiiid.
- Item in annuit. Jacobi et Francisca Fulthorpe, sibi concess. p. lumino vite ex certa piella las et ten. in Hipperwell, p. ult. voluntat. Johis Fulthorpe pris sui pr. ann. ii l.
- Reddit Maner de Huddeswell Com Ebor pertin. Christofero Nevil dur. vita, Annæ ux suæ quondam, ux. Franci Wandisforth ar. xviii l. ix s. viii d.
- Redd. in Barton, xxxix s.
- Redd. in Heaber in Com. Westmorel. vii l. xv s. iiiid.
- Redd. Maner de L...tans in Hippleswell, Co. Ebor respond. annuatim psato Christofero Nevell. *ita*.
- Christopheri Nevil, tenet tot maner de Es Haslerton ut doten, Anne modo ux. sue per Francum Wandesforth nuper mantum suum val. xxix l. de claro.
- Deam anna ten maner de East Hutton ad valor, *ita*.
- Terr. Thomæ Hussey qui indictat fuit at non attinet.
- Maner de Siggistone, xxxi l. vis. viii d. Rectuis Falkingham.
- Thomas Walkingham, ten. præmiss. ad vitan reddend. Thome Hussey, fil. Dnæ Janæ ux is pdci. Thome Walkingham.
- Maner de Carleton Mynigot, val. xix s. vid.
- Thomas Burnet, ten. un tent. p. xxv. annis p. Indram.
- Fn. Nevill et Eliz. ux. dat. 5 Aug. 4 Regine Elize.
- Maner de Northall, in Leedes, xx l.
- Maner de Sandhutton, val. xxxvii s.
- Redd. in Thormanby, lxvi s.
- Redd. in Egilby, xxvii s.
- Terr. Christoferi Danby, jun. in jure ux. Margte.
- 3^a p^s ma. de Beeston, vii l. viii s. vid.
- Redd. ten. in Whorwell, iiiid. xiii s. viii d.
- Terr. Cuthbt. Wytham.
- Redd. tenen in Brettonby in Parvel de Barton, et cap. mess.

voc. Brettonbyhall, in tenura Dorothee ux. Cuthbt. Wythan,
xxxiii *l.* iii *s.* viii *d.*

Terr. Anthonie Wellerby, in jure ux. un filiar. et cohered. Anne, matres
ejus un. fil. et cohered. Thome Tempese imtites.

Redd. tenen in Tunston, ix *l.* vii *s.* ix *d.*

Terr. Christoferi Lockwood.

Redd. maner de East Newsam, xlii *s.* ii *d.*

Terr. Michaelis Tempest, attinet.

Redd. in Broughton, viii *l.* iii *s.*

Tuma cap. ma. de Broughton, q. Wills Dns. Eure ten. vo. Great
Broughton et Grenehow, in Cleveland reddend, xx *l.*

Redd. in Kirkby, xls. Dorothea ux dei Michaelis, 7 Eliz. *ita.*

Redd. in Carleton, xls.

Terræ Johis Swinburne, ar. attineti.

Dunolm.

Maner et cap. mess. de Chopwell in Essat Dunolm, lvi *l.* xiii *s.* iii *d.*

Redd. in Bameton peell mansi pdie. xliii. iii. *ita*, no *l.* or *s.*

Redd. in Oggle Barbye, (Uggil Barnaby,) Co. Ebor. nuper deo
Johi Swinburn in revert. concess. p. mort. Christoferi Ebring-
ton, xlv *l.* xvii *s.* iii *d.*

Northumbr.

Redd. in Corbrigg, infr. Baromani de Bywell, xlix *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Newton, infra Baromani, p. dean, xxii *s.*

Redd. in Wolly, infra Baromani, p. dean, xlv *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Steddall, infra Baromani, p. dean, lii *l.* ix *s.* iv *d.*

Redd. in Aperley et Elmley, infra Baromani, p. dean, lxx *s.*

Redd. in Duxfield, infra Baromani, p. dean, xvi *s.* viii *d.*

Redd. in Black Hedley, infra Baromani, p. dean, lx *s.*

Redd. in Exham, (Uxham,) x *s.*

Maner de Ellingham, Com. Northumb. xxxvi *l.* vi *s.*

Terr. Robt. Claxton, attinet in Essat. Dunolm.

Redd. in Knycheley, vi *l.*

Redd. in Preston, supra Skerne, vii *l.* ii *s.*

Redd. in Heworthe, *xxs.*

Redd. in Westhall, p. mort. Elize Claxton, p. indrain. dat. C.
Eliz. *ixs. iiid.*

Redd. in Old Durham, *lxiii l. iiid.*

Johes Robson ten. duo ten. infra Essat. in West Morton Paroch.
de Seggefield p. tum *xxi. annor. p. indrar. Elize Claxton, 25*
Nov. *5 Elize.*

Redd. in Castle Eden, *lxx l. iiis. viid.*

Redd. in Quicham, (Whickham,) *iiis.*

Redd. ten. dnical. in Auckland Sci. Andreae, *xx l. xs.*

Ma. et dniun. de le Oulde Parke. *ita.*

N. B. Old Park (Parish of St Andr^s. Aukl.) was Claxton's residence.

Terræ Cuthbti. Nevill.

Reddit in Willington in Essat, *xv l. vis. viid.*

N. B. Willington, an old manorial possession of the Nevills. Lady Adeline Nevill left property there, after the forfeiture of the earl, to the Manners' family.

Terr. Anthonii Hebborne, attineti.

Tum. cap. maner de Herdwyk, in paroch. de Segefield in Essat.
xl l. ix s. iiid.

[Hardwick was granted to Sir George Frevile, knight, of Staffordshire, for his services in suppressing the rebellion. The old estate is now worth 800*l.* a-year.]

Redd. in Hurworth, *xi l. vis. viid.*

Redd. tenen. in Shotton, *xi l. de quibus in anmulat. Willi et Robt. Hebborne, sibi concess. p. ult. voluntat. Rici Hebborne p. ris. sui exeun. de oils tris suis in Herdwyke, Maynse forth, Huton et Middleham, vl. vis. viid.*

Redd. in Huton, *vis.*

Redd. in Midlam——per mans. Ballie Epi ibm. *ita.*

Redd. in Maynesforthe, *xiv l. xs viid. de antiquo.*

Terræ Willi Smith, fil. Cuthberti Smith in jure Margarete ux. ejus infra
Essat.

Maner de Nun Slainton de claro, *xlixl.* (650*l.* a-year, 1807.)

Redd. in Walworth, *xvii. l. viiis. iiid.*

Redd. in Woodham, *xl.*

Redd. in Burdon in Essat, *vi. l. viis. vid.*

Redd. in Ushwash (Ushaw) in Essat, *iiii. l. iis. iid.*

Redd. in Hugh Ash in Essat, *xviiiis. viiid.*

Redd. in Harrington et Offerton, *vl. vs. viiid.* de quibus in annuitat. Elize Norton vid. annis fil. et hered. Anthonie Ashe. *lxvs. viiid.* imppuum. Item pro annuitat Oliveri Ashe fatui p. vita p. ult. voluntat. Anthonie Ashe p. ris sui *xl s.*

The Smiths property was probably only forfeited during the life of William Smith. George, son of Margaret, had livery, temp. Jac. ; and most of the estates here recorded have descended to Sir Edward Smythe, now of Eshe or Ashe, Co. Pal. and of Acton Burnell, Co. Salop, baronet.

The lands of Lambert, Trollop, and Conyers, also appear to have been restored, since the heirs were all seized of them even in the time of Elizabeth.

Terr. Robt. Lambert in Essat, attinet.

Ten. in Stockton in Essat, *lx. l. iis. iiid.*

Redd. in Seton Carrowe, *liiis. iiid.*

Redd. ten. in SOSETT, *xxiiii. l. iis. iiii d.*

Redd. in Pva Benton, Com. Northumbr. *xixs. viiid.*

Redd. Joh. Headlam et Elize ux. in Leventhorpe, Com. Ebor. p. *xxi. ann. xls.*

Redd. in Marshe, *xxxs.*

Redd. in Lasingby, *xls.*

Terræ Johis Trollop in Essat.

Maner de Thornley, *xl.* (now 700*l.* a-year.)

Pva Eden, *xiii. l. vis. viiid.* manum. (500*l.* a-year, 1807.)

Redd. in Mooreden, (hodie Mordon,) *vii. l. iis. iiid.*

Joh. Trollop, jun. ten. un tentu et vi lovat. concess. p. Johen.
prem.

Terr. Radi Conyers, in Layton in Essat.

N. B. S^r Cuthbert, son of this Ralph, was sheriff of Durham many years under Elizabeth.

Tuma cap. mansion ac ten. dnical. in Layton, *iiii l.*

Maner de Elleton, *vi l. xiiis. iiii d.*

Redd. in Seggefield, *x s.*

Layton is now 700 a-year; Elton, Conyers's share, 600*l.* a-year.

Terr. Briam Palmes, gen. attinet.

Dunolm.

Redd. tenen. in Huntley in Esset, *iiii l. viii s. v d.* (Yorkshire.)

Redd. tenen. in Sutton supra Deuvent in Essat, *xiiis. viii d.*

N. B. Sutton is in Yorkshire.

Terr. pdei Briani juxe ux infra. Essat.

Dunolm. Redd. ten. in Nether Croston, *vi s. viii d.* (no such place.

Query, Throston.)

in Norton, *lxvi s. viii d.*

in Tunstall, *vi s. viii d.*

in Morelaston, (Morleston,) *xi l.*

in Thorpthewles, *xii s. v d.*

Terr. Radi Conyers de Cotham (Cotham Conyers le Pal.)

Tum scitus maner cum tui dnical. de lotham, *xxviii l. viiis. iiii d.*

Redd. in Lang Newton, *iiii l. xviii s.*

Redd. annuat. solut. dne regine ten. ut de manie de Barnerds

Castell nuper in tenur. Car. Com. Westm. *iv l. iiii s. viii d.*

Redd. in Ayleton (Elton,) unde in ammutat. Edri et Johis Con-

yers p. tum vite p. ult. voluntat. Roth Conyers pris Radi Con-

yers, *iiii l. iiii s. viii d.*

In annuitat. Will. Conyers per ult. voluntat. Roth. pdei, *vi l. xiiis. iiii d.*

It does not appear that Cotham Conyers, or any of the other lands,

were long retained by the crown, if at all. The titled deeds (*qu. in-spexi*) afford no proof of any forfeiture or restitution.

Terr. Cuthberti Storey attinet.

Redd. tenen in Darneton, (Darlington,) *xl l. vi s.*

Redd. liber tenen in Gatesyde, *viii l. vis. x d.*

Remained to the heir, as appears,—Fras. Storey appears seized, temp. Jac.

Terr. Edri Darne. In Dacre.

Redd. tenen. in Byars Parke in Essat, *vis. iiid.*
in Hartleyborne.

Cumbrie redd. in Kirk Oswald et Croglyn, *xi l. xs.*

Terr. Edri Dacre adhuc.

Ebor. ma. de Haughton Magna, *xxxviii l. ii obol.*

Ten. in Moorton sup. Swale, *xxvi s. viii d.*

Redd. tenen. de Pollington in Barwyke, *lxxiii s. iiid.* de quibs.
in ammutat. Briani Hodgshon p. vita de tris in *ita* Pollerton
et Mooreton pr. Eras pat ejusd. Edri, 26 Mar. 4 Eliz.

Terr. Johis Carnaby, ar.

Northumb.

Maner de Toggesden, *xi l. vii s.*

Terr. Robt. Tempest, ar. atteneti.

Dunolm.

Maner de Holmeset, *xi l.*

Ten. in Lanchestre.

Redd. in Dunolm, *xis. iiid.*

Redd. in Kyor————(near Lanchester.)

Terr. Anthonii Ogle.

Northumb.

Reddit annuat. ex tris in Chapyngton ex concep. Gr e (Gregory, I suppose,) Ogle p. cart. *vi l. viii d.*

William Collingwood, gent. of Bp. Auckl. held Chappyngton by demise from the Bp. of Durham, (13 Car.) which fell to the see, as

appears, by forfeiture of Gregory Ogle, gent. of *murder and felony attainted*. This Gregory was living about 1570-1. Notwithstanding this, his son Cuthbt. Ogle was also of Chappyngton, 11 Jac.

Gregory Ogle was seized of Chappyngton Tower not long before. Chappyngton is properly in that district which forms part of the bishopric of Durham; *vulgo*, the North Bishopric.

I do not find any of the Fenwicks mentioned; nor Sir John Neville of Seversedge; nor Musgrave; nor many others; Collingwood, &c. whose names occur in the course of the Insurrection.

It seems uncertain how far all the above were attainted, or whether only those so marked are to be considered in that light; but many of the families certainly retained their property.

Humfridiis Blakiston de Fulthorpe, is said to be attainted in the family pedigree, 1570-1. (Co. Durham.)

In a list of Justices of the Peace, et Liberi Tenentes infra Co. Ebor. 1584. 6 Aug. taken by authority, 1487, Harl. MSS. occurs,

Jac. Fulthorpe, gen. attinctur.—The only person so noted in the list.

No. II.

LETTERS

CONCERNING

THE FAMILY OF CHARLES NEVILLE,

THE FORFEITED EARL OF WESTMORELAND.

[*These interesting Letters were obligingly transcribed from the Lansdowne MS. by
Richard Surtees, Esq. of Mainsforth.*]

Dr MATTHEW HUTTON, Bishop of Durham, to Lord BURLEIGH.*

My humble dutie remembered. I understand, by a letter sent in a parcel to Mr Deane of Duresme, from the right honorable the lord chamberlaine, that her majestie hath sett downe a full resolution to remove me to Yorke; a thinge, I assure your good lordshipp, I did not desire, being verie well placed here; and also, so aged and decaied,

* Dr Matthew Hutton, "a famous and worthie prelate," as sir John Harrington calls him, was translated from Durham to York shortly after this letter was written. He died, aged eighty, in 1605. He was remarkable for venturing to preach in the Queen's Chapel on the subject of the succession; shewing, from the vision of Daniel, that the expectations of all men went northwards; "which," said he, "if it prove an error, it will be found a learned error." The queen heard this trying discussion without apparent emotion, but failed not privately to send the prelate a rebuke for his boldness.

that it is more fitt for me to thinke of my grave than anie honors in this world. Yet, because it hath pleased God to incline her majesties hart towards me, as allwaies heretofore, espetially I doubt not by your lordshipps means: I do committ myself wholly to Gods good providence, to be wholly in his disposition. I have written to sir Robert Cecyll to know your lordshipps direction, when to send up for that matter; bicause I wold be lothe either to seem to forward in haistie sending, or in protracting the time, to be thought unduetifully careles of so gratus a resolution.

I sent up, in the beginning of the terme, to sue for the pardon of the ladie *Margaret Nevill*, taken in company with Boast, the seminary priest. She lamenteth, with teares, that she hathe offended God and hir soveraigne. She is wholly reclaimed from poperie. Doctor Aubrey hathe had hir pardon drawne since the beginning of the tearme. If it come not quickly, I feare she will dye wyth sorrow. It were verie honorable for your good lordshipp to take the case of a most distressed mayden, descended, as your lordshipp knowith, of greate nobility, the house of Norfolke, the house of Westmoreland, and the house of Rutland, in memorie of man, and was but a child of five yeres ould when hir unfortunate father did enter into the rebellion; and now shee is a condemned person, having not one penny by yere to live upon since the deathe of her mother, who gave her xxxij^{li} vj^s viii^d a yere, forth of that ccc^{li} which her majestie did allow hir. It were well that her majestie were informed of her miserable state; she is vertuously given, humble, modest, and of verie good behaviour. Thus committing her poor estate to your lordshipps honorable and charitable consideration, I humbly take my leave. From Awkland, the xith of December 1594.

Your lordshipps bounde in Christe,

MATTH. DUNELM.

*To the right honorable my espetiall good lorde
the lord Burghley, lord treasurer of Eng-
lande.*

TOBIE MATTHEWS,* *Bishop of Durham, to Lord BURLEIGH.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Maie it please your good lordshipp to be advertised, that I have lately caused the lady Katherine Gray, widdow, one of Westmorelands daughters, to be apprehended by Mr John Conyers, the sheriff of this countrie, and Mr Robert Tailbois, one of the justices of peace, and have admitted her to the safe custodie of Christopher Glover, gaoler of Duresm castle, to be kept forthcoming in his privat house nighe the gaole. This ladie was many yeares sought by the late earle of Huntingdon; was detected for the receaving and releving of sundry seminarie priests, as Stafferton, with the flesh mark in his face, (with whose too much familiaritie she hathe been "judged"† in London,) Bost, who since was executed, Mushe, and Patteson, besydes some othirs, whose names come not presently to mynde. She hath alwaies illudid the processes and messengers of the ecclesiasticall high commission, by eloyning and withdrawing herselfe hitherto from all appearance. Of late tyme, somewhat synce Martimas last, she took to farme a house and land, called Grenecroft,‡ nighe Lanchester, in this countie, 8 myles hence, northe and by west, letten unto her by Mris Hall, a widowe conformable, and sister to Nicholas Tempests§ wife of Stella,

* Tobias Matthews was, like his predecessor, translated from Durham to York. Harrington applies to him More's commendation of Cuthbert Tunstal, his predecessor, that, "as there was no man more adorned with knowledge and good literature, no man of greater integrity for his life and manners, so there was no man a more sweet and pleasant companion." Yet the prelate's constructions, in this letter, argue a narrow spirit and want of charity.

† So Mr Surtees reads the word. It implies *censured* in reputation; as in scripture, "Judge not, lest ye be judged."

‡ Grenecroft has been, for near two centuries, the property and occasional residence of the Claverings of Axwell, county of Durham.

§ This branch of the Tempests always continued to profess the old religion. The heiress intermarried with the titular lord Widdrington; and both families are now represented by

that great recusant, where the ladie hath been coming and going ever since, and sometimes made good chere to twentie of her frendes at once, especially at Christmas : and where, if I be truly informed, there was bad rule kept, both spiritually and carnally. Within halfe a mile of that house, on this syde Lanchester, dwelleth at the manor house, one William Hodgson, an olde servant and follower of the earle, whose sonne, called John, is a speciall recusant, and is reported (but how certainly, I know not) to have married this ladie. This William Hodgson is a perilous fellow, conformable to all her majesties proceedings, and fermor to her highnes of the whole deanery of Lanchester dissolved, worth, as it is saide, some cc merkes, or better, above the yerely rent. In Lanchester towne dwellith Lancelott Hodgeson, when he is at home, but he is now in prison for recusancie ; a dangerous person, and not unlerned ; who the last yere was married, as himselfe confesseth, by an olde popish priest, but no seminarist, nor at a masse, as he allegeth, to Marie Lee, daughter to another of therles chefe old servants and officers at Brancepath, in those daies. The manor of Lanchester belonging to me, and Brancepath lordship to her majestie, by therles attaynder, doe adjoin together, and therefore, I thinke, the lady Graye did there meane, for the tyme, to sett up her rest soe nighe her fathers olde tenants ; the house itself also (standinge towards the fells, and nighe a pretty wodde) strongly built of newe, with many shifting contrivances, may yelde good opportunitie to lodge and interteyne, not only other ill guests, but, percase, thearle himselfe, *si et quatenus*. Nowe, that she is in handes, I would, from your lordship, be directed, with some expedicion, how she shall be dealte with and used ; 1. whether detayned in durance, or bayled upon good bond for her appearance from tyme to tyme ; 2. whether she shall be touched only for recusancie, or charged with any other matters that may occurre ; 3. whether, if any thinge amountinge to felonye shall arise against her, she

— Eyre of Hassop, county of Derby, the present proprietor of Stella. Nicholas Tempest, of Stella, was imprisoned for recusancy, temp. Jac.

shall be tried thereof at the next assises here, or in Northumberland, as her sister the lady Margaret was anno 1593, and by her majestie most graciously pardoned in hope of the continuance of her pretended conformitie (from which I heare she is relapsed since); 4. whether she shall be suffered to kepe house of herselfe, with some of her owne servants about her, and other friends sometymes resorting to her, as she desyreth earnestly, or lyve, as her keeper shall provide for her, in a more private and close maner; 5. whether she shall be permitted to ryde abroad and take the aire, or continue within her lodging; with such other particulars as your lordship, in your wisdome, shall think fitt to impart unto me. My healthe will not yet serve me either to sende for her, or goe unto her; but at the tyme of my visitacion, about a fortnight hence, or xviii dayes, I shall take occasion to speak with her, and examine her, if your lordship, before that tyme, shall so advise me, and if God will geve me leave. The whyle, with humble thanks to your good lordship for the allowance of my impost, I betake your lordship to the grace of God. At B. Auckland, 27th Maii 1598.

Your lordships most humble in Christ,

TOBIE DURESME.

I suppose Mr Topcliff could saie much touching this ladie, if your lordship would require him earnestly.

*To the right honorable my singular good lord
the lord Burghley, lord high thresorer of
England.*

NOTE BY MR SURTEES.

"The house at Greencroft has been modernized since the above period; and I do not know that it is now remarkable for any shifting contrivances; of which, however, there are several in the county of Durham; at Binchester, which was an estate of the Nevills, is a private staircase for escape, concealed as part of the chimney, &c. The country between Lanchester and Brancepath is still comparatively wild and moorish. The manor-house, where William Hodgson lived, is probably the chief residence belonging to the impropriate deanery of Lanchester. John Hodgson is denominated, Of Manor-house, 1615; but a confusion arises between this and Welborne manor-house, near Newcastle, both held by this family; one of whom certainly was the Mr Hodgson, who is mentioned as having been turned out of Newcastle, in Robert Constable's letter, No. XXII. p. 64. Though I know nothing of the scandal between lady Catharine (who seems, by the bye, not to have been quite so modest and discreet as poor lady Margaret,) and Hodgson; the representative of the Hodgson family, sir Robert Hodgson, knight, a violent recusant, about 1630 intermarried with the lineal heiress of the earls of Westmoreland, Frances, daughter and co-heiress of David Ingleby, by Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Charles, last earl of Westmoreland."

No. III.

THE
ESTATE OF ENGLISH FUGITIVES
UNDER
THE KING OF SPAINE AND HIS MINISTERS.

CONTAINING BESIDES,
A DISCOURSE OF THE SAYD KINGS MANNER
OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE INJUSTICE OF MANY LATE DISHONORABLE
PRACTISES BY HIM CONTRIVED.

TO THE READER.

BEING some five or sixe yeres since in those partes of Flanders, which are subject to the Spanish king, and seeing a miserable troupe of my unhappie countriemen, (some of which were gentlemen of good houses in England) wandring in poore habites and afflicted gestures, heavily groning under the burthen of an extreeme and calamitous necessitie: on the one side, by their heedlesse demeanure there, debarred from returne into their countrie; and on the other, daily overlooked with

the proud eyes of disdainfull Spaniards, and for want of due regarde in that comfortlesse service, perishing without either pity or reliefe. Seeing, as I say, these things, and entring into a consideration of them, with an unpartiall iudgement, knowing some of my good friendes and acquaintance in England possessed with the like humor as that which moved the foresaid gentlemen to forsake their countrie, and to settle themselves in the service and dominions of the king of Spaine, I thought good to advertise them of that which my poore experience had gathered, touching the small regard, distresse, povertie, scorne, calamitie, and affliction, befallen to such as had alreadie entred the course, that, to their unexperienced judgement, yealded such shew of contentment, therby, if it were possible, to dissuade them from attempting the like; the same being, in regard of the offence to their soveraigne, so treacherous; of the reproche to their family and parentage, so infamous; and, lastly, in so deepe a degree to themselves dangerous, that being once thereinto entered, it should not bee in their power, upon their afterchange of humor and appetite, thence to withdraw themselves, the error being such as admitteth not any repentance or excuse. Having to that effect written from thence privately to some of my acquaintance, the coppies of my letters (contrarie to my intention) were, since my returne, by some of them given abrode, and lastly, not long since, a discourse printed in Paules Church-yarde, containing some parte of the substance thereof, but manye thinges that I had written left out, and manye thinges inserted that I never ment; and finally, in the whole so falsified and chaunged, as well in matter as words, and ignorantly entermixed with fictions of the publisher, that howsoever the vulgar sorte bee therewith pleased, those that are of farther reach and insight, cannot but condemne it as a thing fabulous, grossely handled, and full of absurdities. Besides, the time and occasion to which that discourse was fitting, is now altogether past, and therefore the same altogether impertinent. In regard of which, and other inconveniences, I thoughte it not unfitte to publish the true

copy of my owne letter, which though after so many yeares cannot but seeme stale, yet the occasions that moved me thereunto considered, I trust I shall not otherwise be censured of, then the sinceritie of my meaning deserveth, which is to dedicate the fruits of my poore experience to the benefit of my cuntry, and withall to satisfie the world as touching the former treatise, (for though they are suppressed, yet there are greate numbers of them extant,) the which was by a fellow, that had stolne a copy thereof, foysted to the print, in hope of benefit, and now when the matter comes to examination, slips his head out of the collar, and will not bee found. Withall, I shall perchance, seeing I have so good an occasion offered, touch by the way some occurrents of later time. And whereas my meaning was at the first onely to satisfie a few private friendes, now seeing it is my chaunce to publish it, I shall entreate the reader, whosoever he be, and howsoever in religion affected, neverthesse laying aside all prejudicate opinion, not to condemne any thing (seeme the same never so strange) heerein mentioned, unlesse he shall himselfe be able to disprove it, which I hope for trewnesse of matter it shal not lie in any mans power to do. For my meaning is not to speak of sophisticall devices, projected driftes, or matters forged in the ayre, but plainly and simply, of things actually and really doone in publique view of the world, and confirmed with the witnesse of thousandes.

The Coppie of a Letter, written by a Gentleman that had sometimes served the King of Spaine, to a Catholike Gentleman, his Kinseman and Friend.

SIR,

Understanding as well by your letters, as also by the message lately done unto mee by the mouth of R. B., of the great longing and desire you have to come into these partes, and to imploy your selfe heere in

service of the Spanish king ; and perceiving also, not onley by your sayde letters, but by the gentleman that brought the same, and by the report of sundrie others, that many young gentlemen of our countrie are of your minde in that point ; some thereunto (as I gesse) moved of a youthfull and vaine tickling humor, to be wandering abroad in strange and forrein countries ; others in hope there to grow to great preferment, advancement, imployment, and wealth ; other some pretending matter of conscience, seeme to have sure confidence that there they may live with more liberty and ease of minde, than that which within our countrie they injoy ;—I have thought good, for the particular love which I beare, and always have borne towards you, unto whom I wish as to my self (but chiefly in respect of that due humble regard, and zealous reverent affection which I beare to the service and sacred person of our most gracious and princely soveraigne, the queenes most excellent majestie, and to my most dearly loved native countrie and countrymen,) to set downe some notes and observations, which, by a long and dangerous experience in this place, I have heedfully gathered. By which (I hope) I shall make manifest, as well to you as likewise to all other my countrymen, (howsoever in humor disposed) by apparent examples, and undeniable truthes, how greatlie you and they (that desire to repaire hether, by anie of the motions before expressed, are in anie hope of good to be received from the sayd king of Spaine or his ministers,) do erre and are deceived. I hertely and most earnestly desire you, and all other that shall reade this treatise, deeply to judge and consider of these pointes, which I shall heerein set downe, which (God willing) I will doo with such fidelitie, true meaning, and sinceritie, as that no parte of the same shall be truly to be gainsaid or refelled, and my selfe by the persons, times, and places, and other circumstances, shall make most manifest and plaine, to anie that shall doubt of the truth of the same, or anie part thereof. And I shal take great joy and comfort, if my self having undertaken an untowardly and dangerous course, though with better successe than hath happen-

ed to many hundreds, may be as a caveat to all the young gentlemen of our nation, how they hazard themselves so daungerously; and that my painfull experience may be to them as a looking glasse, wherein they may behold the spots and errors of their conceived fansies, or as a marke set up for them, whereby they may avoid the perills and most dangerous rockes and shelves, to them yet unknownen, and lying hidden under the smooth, faire, and delightful conceived, and fantisied pleasures, suggested unto them by their owne imagination, the same being unexperienced, and therefore without mistrust. And surely I cannot too much commend the saying of that excellent Roman orator, who placed in the first degree of wisdom, those that were of themselves best able to give good advise, and in the next, those that were willing and inclinable to follow it.

But some man may here perchance ask me, whence I have such an assurance of my wit, that I will take upon me to advise others, who are perchance better able to counsell me? To this I answer, that if anie man, how meane so ever, will for my profite and good go about to instruct mee in anie thing, wherein himselfe hath made so long experience, and will confirme the same with so many substantiall proofes and examples as I will doo this, he shall finde me easie to be perswaded, without straining himselfe to the search of anie high points of wit, or subtiltie of well couloured speech; for so manifest a truth needs no disguising, but rather is by a plain and simple nakednesse the more commended. But as for those that, with fore-possessed mindes, regarde not what daunger so ever they throwe themselves into, greedily with a new-fangled appetite swallowing downe anie licour that presents it selfe unto them in a glistering cuppe, I thinke neither wit nor truth will bee of much availe, though those that are of greater discretion and more temperately disposed, will (I doubt not) reade it wyth indifferent eyes, and conceive of it as it deserveth. For if they were to sail along the perillous rockes of Circe or the Syrenes, I thinke they would not refuse to heare Ulysses speake, but gladly give attention to

his counsels, seeing among many that perished, it was his onely hap to heare the alluring songs of the one, and to see the inchanting cruelties of the other, and yet to escape the danger of them both.

I will entertaine you no longer with circumstance, but, for the confirmation of my speech, refer you to the following Discourse.

THE

BEGINNING OF THE DISCOURSE.

BEING forced by the fore remembred occasions, to make of a private letter a publik discourse, I am at the verie first troubled, not knowing what method to observe in a matter so abrupt and full of confusion; which I feare mee is likely to prove to the true English and well minded reader as delightlesse, as it is to me that write it altogether comfortles, in regard of the numbers of our nation wherof I must intreate, and among the rest, of some of good parentage, that have with full draught swallowed into their intrailes the loathsome dregges of this Spanish infection; being to our nation a thing as fatall and deadly as ever was the gold of Tholouse, or the horse of Seian to the unfortunate possessors therof. Whose course and actions (thogh the lawe of God, the law of nations, the duetie to our soveraigne, and the love to our countrie, bindeth us to detest and hate, because they followe an opposite armedemie that seeketh our subversion,) yet in regard they are of the same nation and language which we are of, charitie and kindnes wisheth us to take compassion of their abused conceits, and to wish them yet now at length to open their eies, and to beholde the dangerous estate wherein they have plunged themselves, the infamie and

scorne wherein they live, yea, under those whom they serve as hirelings, and lastly, the reprochful blot that they have given to the noblenes of our heretofore unblemished nation, which in former ages, howsoever laboring in intestine broiles, yet never was detected of such base and wicked trecheries, as to sell themselves to a forreine prince, to be by him imploied to the overthrow of their countrie, and the taking awaie of their soveraignes life.

This is the unpleasing subject I must intreat of, drawing forcibly unto it the recitall of so many conspiracies, murthers, violences, practises, and treasons, that for the strangenesse thereof, it will rather beare the resemblance of a tragical fiction, then of a true discourse.

I will first direct my speeches to such unexperienced gentlemen, as are in desire addicted to the Spanish service, shewing them in what point of their hope and expectation they doo faile and are deceived, laying unto them before their eies, the fall, miserie, and calamitie of as many as have before them entered within the compass of this enchanted circle.

Secondly, to our credulous catholiks at home, upon whose ignorance and driftles search into these matters, our practising traitors abroad do build their chefest foundations of al their vilanies, (whom while they entertain with vaine expectations, in the meane time, with traitors and spies which they daily send over,) they abuse with over reaching subtilties, to the irreparable ruine and overthrow of them and theirs.

They have also at their devotion certain ambo-dexter felowes, who upon fained colours and pretenses passe to and fro, feeding either side with newes, who in regard of some few bad inteligences, which now and then they bring into England, would faine be accounted honest, serviceable men; but they must pardon me a litle, in respect of some experience that I have had of them, if I conceive otherwise, thinking them to be indeed farre more dangerous than either the secret spie or the discovered traitor; and in place where when I shall be askt, I will yeelde my reason. For since I was a scholler, I remember a verse in Seneca, "*Pretio parata vincitur pretio fides.*" I speake this, because

the prince whom they serve, howsoever otherwise, with these fellowes will not sticke to deale most liberally.

Thirdly, because many of our countrymen living in great happines at home, yet (like those that cannot take good rest when they lie soft) doo in their conceit mislike (surfeiting with to much ease) the quiet estate they live in, and the maner of her majesties most gracious and mercifull government, I have thought it my dutie somewhat to expresse these few thinges which have come to my knowledge, touching the benefites and blessings which it hath pleased God so plentifully to poure downe upon her majesty and her people; together with the flourishing estate of that fortunate realme, since this the time of her majesties government, so plentiful in peace, so victorious in warres, so industrious, in artes, and so excelling in all sciences, that the verie Spanishemie himselfe will not stick many times to breake out into admiration thereat, and sometimes in his scoffing, or rather blasphemous humour, sweare that he thinkes Jesu Christ is become a protestant: withall, I will briefly make a short comparison betweene this and the government of the adversarie, I meane the king of Spaine, his cruell and inhumane usage of his miserable subjects, his violent abolition and taking awaie of their priviledges, and, in fine, the unspeakable bondage, constrained servitude, and pitiful desolation in which they live, or rather despairfully do languish. A matter though farre unfit for mee to handle, but worthie of graver wits, and men of the highest wisdom and experience, yet considering I shall not presume to treat of matters of great estate and secrets, but such as every well affected subject may finde and picke out of the heroicall actions of the one, and the tyrannicall insolencies of the other, both done in the appearance of the world, I hope, and so with all lowlynes most humbly desire her most gracious and benigne majestie to pardon mee, if undertaking such a taske, I chance to come far short of that, which men fitter for the handling thereof could saie or intreat, and so likewise most earnestly beseech that I may therein be censured according to the loy-

all zeale I beare to her majesties service and my countrie, and not to the basenes and simplicitie of my stile, or the handling thereof.

But to come to my discourse, to the end that you and the rest of your opinion, may cleerely and plainly discerne those things, which hetherto your eies blinded with the vaile of partialitie, or perchance misled with a contrarietie of affection, have not bin able to view; I will begin with the good usage, honor, and advancement, that you and other gentlemen addicted to the Spanish service are to expect, bringing you for example sundrie brave and worthie gentlemen, captains, and souldiers, that have taken the like cause before you; whereby you shall perceive that all is not golde that glistereth faire, but that whatsoever shew the Spaniard make unto us, yet in his heart hee mortally abhorreth us, and by all meanes possible seeketh our destruction, ruine, and subversion, as it evidently appeareth by his usage of such troupes and companies of our nations as have served him.

I will not speak of the crueltie of the commendador upon certaine English gentlemen that had done notable services both to him and the duke of Alva, of whom neverthelesse, for a meer trifling occasion, he caused eight to be hanged up after the sacke of Antwarpe on the Mere brigge.

Neither will I trouble you with the tragicall discourse of M. Aegrimont Ratcliffe, and M. Grey, who were, as the world knoweth, both gentlemen of noble houses, and most faithfully affected both in religion and service to the Spanish king; nevertheles, upon I know not what suspicion, that they should have practised the death of Don Joan, they were both apprehended, and though there never was, nor ever could bee anie thing proved against them, and they at their deathes protested themselves to be most innocent of that wherwith they were charged, yet theyr heads were stricken off in the market place of Namures. I touch these things the more sparingly, because they happened before my time of being there, and in matters delivered by heresaie I might erre, which (undertaking to write no thing but that which is

true and unrefutable) I wold be loth to doo, and therefore I will come to things of later time, and such as I doo certainly know.

At the siege of Audenarde, where the duke of Parma laie encamped, there came, rendering themselves unto his service, under the conduct of Norris, Barney, Cornish, and Gibson, whome they had chosen to be theyr captaines, a troupe of sixe hundred, the tallest and best appointed souldiers that I remember éver to have seene in all my life; theyr comming beeing the onlie cause that the towne (a matter of great importance, and on the land side, as it were, the verie key of the province of Flanders,) was so soon delivered unto him as it was. For whereas the duke of Anjou and the prince of Orenge laie under the walls of Gaunt, with sufficient force and most deliberate resolution to succour the sayd towne of Audenarde, upon this mutinie of the English, they marched awaie with their whole armie, leaving the enemie now battering the towne; which, seeing itself frustrated of the expected succours, presently rendered it self unto the duke of Parma. Thence they were drawen to Wynochbergen to serve against the French and English that lay there incamped, where they behaved themselves with such desperate resolution that day, that monsieur de Balanson, brother to the marquesse of Warambon, was taken prisoner; that besides the losse of many of their lives, they were a wonder to the whole armie; which praise of theirs the pride of the Spaniards not induring, dyd upbraide them, that they had served rather like giddie headed dronkards, than men wisely valiant. Sir Roger Williams well remembreth this daies worke, for hee was there in service of the states; and unless I am deceived, lost a brother in that service. Shortly after, uppon the remove of the duke of Alanson's armie towards Gaunt, they were likewise brought thether, where also they gave exceeding testimonie of their valor and courage, namely, the verie daie that sir John Norris made that famous and memorable retreat before Gaunt, who, when the French men fled with a disordered amazement, did with a present courage and excellent direction, maintaine the place with such régiments of English as were under his charge; and withstanding the

duke of Parma in the teeth with all his puissance, who furiously charged him, nevertheles withdrew his men still holding their pikes in the bosomes of the enemy, safely under the wals of Gaunt, not without exceeding damage to the enemy; insomuch, that the duke of Parma would ever after saie, that hee onely had that daie barred him from crying quittance with the duke of Alanson, for the retreate which hee had caused him to make from Cambray; which still did sticke in his stomacke even to his dying day.

But now to my new come English that had done those notable services to the Spaniard, let us see howe they were recompensed: within one yeere they were suffered all in a manner to famish; which miserie some of them seeking to relieve by foraging out upon the countrie, foure and twentie of them were taken by the Spanish provost, and carried to Audenarde, (of the rendering whereof they had bin the chiefest meanes) and openly hanged in the market-place. Another troupe of them, being thirty in number, and lying in a village neere Poppering in Flanders, a companie of Spaniards hearing of them, came into the village where they were, and after a friendly and souldierly salutation of each side, as they were all making mery together, on a sodain the Spaniards toke them at advantage unarmed, and most trecherously and inhumanely murdered them every one, rifling them of their clothes, and such other things as they had pilled abroad in the countrie. Sundrie complaints were made to the duke by the friends of those that were thus murthered, and by the captaines of the regiment, but Spaniards being the doers thereof, there could neither bee remedie nor justice obtained. But to make amends, because they woulde bee the cleanlyer rid of the residue of this poure miserable troupe, the camp being then before Wynochbergen, wherein laie a mightie strong garrison of Frenchmen, they made them two little fortes of purpose, in which they willingly placed them in the utmost quarter of the whole campe, and neerest confining to the towne, to the end they might have all their throates cut, as in deede they had verie fewe nightes after, at which time the enemy assaulting them with great furie, and they defending

themselves most manfully above the space of an houre, in such sort as the allarum passed through the whole camp, yet they were never releevd with anie succour at all, insomuch as the greatest part of them being slaine in the defence, the enemie at last entered, and put the residue to the sword.

To rehearse unto you the sundrie and severall calamities that these poore men, as well captaines as souldiers, indured, during the time of that their unfortunate service, especially at Gausbecke, Aske, and Gauer, would seeme (I am sure) unto you, for the unspeakable strangenes thereof, scarcely credible; for they never received in all the time of their service, anie one moneths paie. I have seen lieutenants and ensignes of them go up and downe sickly and famished, begging their bread, covered onely with poore blankets and tikes of featherbeds, that they had rifled in the villages abroad, and have my selfe releevd some of them. Neither were the ends of their captaines lesse tragical; which I thought good to set downe, to the ende you may perceive, that such and so great calamities as these, could never have happened without the apparent hand of God; whose revengful justice never ceased to pursue the infidelitie of these miserable men, til he had taken them from the face of the earth.

First, Norris, chiefe captaine and ringleader of the rest, after hee had leasure to bethinke himselfe of the foulness of his fault, and withall sawe the scorne and contempt wherein hee lived under the Spaniard, conceived thereof so deep an impression, that he fell dangerouslie sicke, and into a kind of lunasie; of which, before hee was well recovered, hee stole secretly out of the campe lying then at Varnaton, with intention to convey himselfe into England, but by the way was taken prisoner and carried to Flushing, whereby dying in prison, or as some saie, by laying violent hands on him selfe, hee prevented those torments, that, according to the qualitie of his offence, were prepared for him. Gibson, at such time as the campe laie before Menin, lying one night with his wife in his cabine, a Spanish horseman comming upon occasion into his quarter, chanced to tie his horse to the stake

whereunto Gibson's cabbin was fastned, who, what with stamping and shaking the cabbin, did so disquiet him, that he arose, thinking to untie the horse, giving withall some harde wordes to the owner, who in requittal thereof ranne him through the bodie with his rapier, so that hee fell downe in the place starke dead. I saw his wife many times afterwardes weeping and falling downe upon her knees before the duke of Parma for justice. But English blood was there of so vile a price, especially being shed by a Spaniard, that the matter was not thought worthie the inquiring after.

Cornish was in the one of the litle forts before mentioned, at such time as they were surprised by the French men, within the which both himselfe, his lieutenant, ensigne, and whole companie, were miserablie slaine and mangled. Barnies companie was with the other likewise defeated, and put to the sword, but he himselfe was by his good happe sicke and absent at Saint Homars. Neverthelesse hee escaped not altogether his part and portion of these afflictions; for presently uppon his returne to the campe, as hee stood beholding the march of a companie of footmen that passed by, hee was shot at by an unknown man with an harquebuze, which by chaunce though it missed his bodie, yet it lighted uppon his right arme, in such sorte, as it shevered all the principall bones thereof to peeces, so that hee hath utterly lost the use thereof. Shortly after hee was taken prisoner by the English souldyers of Ostend, where he was everie daie in daunger of the gallowes; but uppon promises of great services hee was at length set at libertie by sir John Conway, and suffered to returne from whence hee came; whereas yet hee liveth, but maymed and verie miserable, and in exceeding great distresse, needinesse, and povertie.

Two or three yeeres after this foreremembred storie, came one William Pigot, who beeing of a meane man raysed to the degree of a capitaine by sir John Norris, and in his absence left as commander in Alost, over the rest of the companies, trecherously deceiving him to whome hee was so infinitely beholding, rendered the towne, himselfe, and the whole regiment, (beeing well neere a thousand as tall and well

appoynted men as were in Europe) to the service and devotion of the Spanish king ; which service, howe meritorious and beneficiall it was unto the Spaniard, I leave to theyr judgements that knowe the countrie. For by this rendition of the towne of Alost, they were the occasion that hee got Dermounde, the Sasse, the fortes of Leifkinshooke, Saint Anthonies, and Saint Margarets the dole, the best parte of the lande of Wast, and in manner Gaunt itself, as the sequele verie apparently shewed ; notwithstanding all which service, they were within two yeeres space, what wyth hunger, the gallowes, and rigorous dealing, quite consumed and brought to nothing. And lastly at Stalbrooke, even against the yeelding up of Anwarpe, when all other nations whatsoever were to receive theyr count and reckoning, they onelye were infamously cashierde without anie one monethes paie, receiving onelie every one a duckett.

And which of all others is most monstrous and scarcely credible, whereas some of the captaines not long before, had made them of their own purses new and faire ensignes, those ensignes were by a Spanish commissarie called Spinosa (who came with order to dissolve the regiment) taken violently from those that bare them, in presence of the earle of Westmerland, who was coronell of the regiment ; and for a greater disgrace both to him and the rest, though both hee, captaine Tresham, and the other captaines complained to the duke for redres, which they could not obtaine, the Spaniard afterwards made his brags, that he turned the English ensignes into Spanish fieldbeds.

Somewhat before this time, when the whole camp received at the siege of Dermounde two moneths pay, they onely, though of all others most travelled in the trenches, wading everie night from their quarter to the place where they kept their gard, which was upon a dike or caussey, through waters up to the bosome, and having had more men slaine in that siege than anie other regiment in the whole campe, could not receive one penie, notwithstanding that they had passed musters with the rest, yea, and some of the captaines had bribed the commissaries to passe them many places, thinking thereby to make a great

hand; but in sted of monie when they made sute to the duke, were scornfully by him poasted off to the contadores of the armie, of whom they receved the most base and opprobrious speeches that were ever given unto souldiers, and that can lieutenant Butlar well testifie; for he being then lieutenant unto Pigot, was one of the number unto whom they were used; he is now in her majesties service, and was lately lieutenant of sir John Poolies horsemen, and as I heare, hath done her majestie many good services. The conclusion is, they were absolutely rejected, without ever receiving one halfepenie. And lastly, upon casting of the regiment, whereas the paie of a reformed capitaine, (for so they call them whose companies are cashierd or taken awaie) of what nation soever he bee amongst them, is fortie crownes a moneth, they gave only to our English captains but five and twentie; neither that but in paper onely, for I thinke some of them never received anie pennie at all in mony, and if they did, I am sure it was verie little.

Thus much as touching the usage which they received from the Spaniard; but now keeping the course I beganne, I will acquaint you with the punishment which it pleased God to laie upon the leaders and first seducers of this miserable forenamed troupe.

Upon their arrivall in the Spanish campe, they were divided into seven companies, the one of which was given to the earle of Westmerland, who, upon their humble request and sute, was made coronell and commander of them all, and one Contraras, a Spaniard, joyned with him as his assistant, or rather as a master and commander both over him and the regiment; another was given to Pigot, with the title of lieutenant coronell; the third to Dalton, with the office of sergeant major; the names of the other four upon whom the residue of the companies were bestowed, were Tailor, Vincent, Smith, and Walsh. I will begin with Pigot, because hee onely was the first and chiefe actor and instrument in this trecherie, abusing with the subtiltie of his fair speech the rest of his countrymen that were by him drawen into this action. Pigot after hee had stayed a while in the campe, as hee was

wilie and full of crafte, so hee quickly perceived howe the worlde was likely to go with him and his fellowes, and therefore leaving the rest to weare themselves out in povertie and travell, hee, while he had monie in his purse, got him into Spaine, thinking surely with himself, that in regard his service had been so important, hee should there have bene received with crosse and candle, and besides bee mightly recompensed. He would not admit anie other of the captaines for companion in the journey, fearing least partnership might have made the merite of his service (which to himselfe hee attributed alone) seeme the lesse, and so consequentlie his reward.

With this craftie intention hee arrived at Madride, where after hee had a while wandered up and downe unregarded, at length by meanes of sir Frances Englefield, to whom he was in that behalfe an earnest suter, hee was brought by an interpreter (for hee had no other language but plain English) to the speech of Don Joan de Ydeaques, being then the kings secretorie, from whom (after he had declared his service and cause of comming) hee received this answere, that the king had appointed the duke of Parma to be his lieutenant, and captaine generall in the Lowe Contries, to whose direction and discretion hee referred the consideration of all such lyke services as shoulde there fall out; wishing him therefore with all speede to returne unto the duke, who, no doubt, woulde take notice of his services; offering him his letter unto the duke in that behalfe.

This answere was cold, and contrarie to Pigots expectations; but backe hee must, there was no remedye: no reple of his coulde alter the secretories resolution. Somewhat before his undertaking this journey, hee had married a handsome young woeman of those countries, whome hee left at Tourney in a citizens house, and with her in charge, all whatsoever hee was woorth. Shee, in the time of his absence, being verie fearefull to lye alone, had entertayned into her bedde a younge man of the towne of her olde acquaintance, with whome (hearing of her husbands returne) she ranne away, selling first whatsoever of her husbandes that was not portable, and the rest of the things that

remained, beeing of anie value, shee took with her. And with this companion of hers shee got her selfe into England, knowing that her husbände durst not make pursute thither after her; but comming to London, shee mette with certayne Flaunders souldyers that knewe her and her husbände, who, under coulour of yeelding her assistance in a straunge place, coosened her of the greatest parte of such thinges as shee had lefte, (beeing of good woorth) as shee had so deceived her husband of; the rest shee spent in dissolutenesse, and so by degrees, according to the fortune of such courses, fell into extreamest miserie and beggerie that might bee. In the meane time, Pygots heart beeing stricken dead with the coldnesse of the entertainment he had in Spayne, and now returning homewardes, on the one side quite frustrated of all his expectations and hopes, and on the other syde pursued wyth the stynges and terrors of a guilty conscience, yet cheered up him self with thinking on the comfort of his wives youth and affections, and withall of the money that he had lefte in her keeping; for you must consider that hee had not given but sold the town of Alost for thirtie thousand French crownes, for payment of which they had hostages; and the same was fully paid before hee delivered up the towne. Out of this monie sixe moneths paie was deducted for the souldiers, the rest hee divided among the captaines, retaining a great share to himselfe; which, as you heare, hee had left in keeping with his wife, as a certaine remedy in store against whatsoever hardnesse of fortune should afterwarde happen. But beeing upon his returne to Torney incoun-tered with the newes of his wives disloialtie, and withall, which grieved him most, finding his lodgings ransackt, his coffers emptie, and himselfe at once overwhelmed with such a heape of scorne and miserie, I leave you to imagine the patience and quietnesse wherewith his minde entertained these tidings, being (as before I told you) one that meere-ly for money (as for religion hee knew not what it meant) had solde his loialty to his prince and countrie, his faith to his coronell, (to whome in so many duties he was tied) and finally his owne person, as likewise he would have done his soule, if hee coulde have found a chapman.

Sure I am, that if by the bodies jestures a man may judge of the minds unquiet perturbations, there was never anie wretch more violently overthrowen with the extremity of an inward affliction and despaire; yet did he not for all this wholly forsake and abandon himselfe, but rather determined to turne, as the proverbe is, everie stone, and to attempt fortune once anew, thereby either to redresse the miseries of his estate, or at the least, if the worst shoulde fall, to end his lyfe, for finding himselfe already above the shooes, he made no reckoning of being above the boots, and therefore following the saying of the poet, *Per scelera sceleribus tutum esse itur*, he resolved himselfe by a new trecherie to amend his olde, and withall his fortune, if it were possible, and therefore fell presently a tampering with some of his friendes in Holland and Zealand, and lastly with my lord of Leycester himselfe, being then newly come over to the government of the United Provinces, to whom he offered, so he might have his pardon, and withall be rewarded, to betraie the duke of Parma in some notable sorte, besides sundrie other lyttle services (of which none could be performed without notable perjury and infidelitie) to performe which he made prodigall offers of his best indevors; which neverthelesse truly I thinke hee had not bene able to performe, though hee had never beene hindered in the course of his practises, yet from time to time hee sent my lord over such poore intelligences, as the smalnes of his credit wherein he lived could attaine unto. The carrier of his letters and the returner of his answers was a brokerly fellow, an Englishman, that then dwelt in the English house at Antwarpe, called J. G. one that in intelligence desired to correspond with either side, but with whether he dealt faithfully God knoweth, I will speake the lesse of him, because though his wife remaine still in Antwarpe, yet he himselfe is withdrawen to Middleborough, where some saie he liveth now honestly and well. This fellow, whether by carelesse conveyance, or by worse practise, as some suspected, (though truly I thinke him thereof innocent, as Rowland York afterwards assured me, with whome Pigot had at that time intelligence, who had used him before in such like practises for himselfe,

and by him received his pardon and passport, uppon his first being with the duke of Parma from my lord of Leycester,) yet in conclusion hee handled his matters so ill, that Mondragon, chiefe captaine and lieutenant of the castles of Antwarpe and Gaunt, came to have intelligence thereof, who presently thereupon caused Pigot to be apprehended and conveyed prisoner to the castle of Gaunt, where hee had beene presently laide upon the torture, but that Hugh Owen, who for some causes especially affected him, laboured to the contrarie; and in fine so much prevailed, that after halfe a yeres imprisonment, he got him to be delivered. Thence poore and penillesse he traveled to Burges, where the duke of Parma then remained, with intention to sue for somewhat wherewith to relieve himselfe. But whether soever he went, still Nemesis followed him *in tergo*; for by the way he was taken by certaine English souldiers that laye in ambush on the way, and by them caried prisoner to Ostend, where, with the smoothnesse of his tongue, and the protestation of many great services by him intended, hee so enchanted sir John Conway, then being governour of the towne, that hee forbare to hang him, as he was once determined; and presently by letters advertised the counsel of his taking, and withall such services, of which he to shift the halter from his necke, had given such confidence and assurance, so he might be suffred to escape; al which notwithstanding, by the counsels commaundement, he was sent for into England, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsie; where having remained some space of time, being one day wel overnight, he fell into strange and extream accidents of his body, and was found the next morning dead. Such, after this goodly service, was his fortune, and such his end; and such bee the like of all other trecherous ill affected Englishmen. But now let us come to speake of master Dalton, beeing next in the rowe, and see how hee spedde.

This gentleman, to the end you should the better know him, was one of the craftiest conicatchers that ever lived, and had all his life time shifted it out with coosening sleightes and practises of vilanie, as all the olde Flaunders souldiers that knewe hym can well testifie; now

by reason of his good experience hee was growne verie weather wise, and did by manye conjectures foresee the stormes and tempestes that were comming towardes him and hys followers; and therefore thinking it a great madnesse to lye still at anker in so daungerous and unsafe a roade, hoysed upp his sayles, and shewed them a fayre payre of heeles, running awaye from them at Torney, where the duke of Parma then kept his courte, into Fraunce; yet because hee would not bee in hys absence unremembred, hee first tooke up uppon his credite as much wares, as by all his utmost devises hee could procure, eyther of mercers, goldsmithes, or anye other sorte of artificers. Thence hee conveyed himselfe into the north partes of England, where, as hee had gotten his goods wickedly, so he spent them as riotously; afterwards changing his name, hee betooke him to sea, and became a pirate; for which, and sundry other such honest parts as hee had plaid, he was afterwards apprehended, and tied up to the gallowes there in the north, in the yere 1586.

Tailor of all the rest was most to be pittied, for he was a man of very comely personage, fine qualities, and verie gentlemanly behavior. His father had long served her majestie, as likewise himself had done in some office, as I take it, pertaining to the provisions of her stable; it was my chance to converse much with him, both because we were of acquaintance in England, as also that I liked exceedingly his conversation, and the manner of his carriage; and truly thus much I must saie of him beeing now dead, that I did never know anie man that was stricken with a greater apprehension of his owne fault, and that did more everie waie beat his braines and seeke all occasions how to amend it. The cause that had drawen him into this matter, as sundry times he told me, and sometimes not without teares, were the many debts with which (being very youthfully given) he had intangled himselfe in England, and withal his marriage, which was most unfortunate. To rid himself of both which inconveniences at once, he had throwen himself into this headlong action; which surely if God had lent him life, he would have indeavored to amend. For I remember once, the camp

lying then at a place called Evergham, that coronel Morgan sent him a secret letter, wrapped in the long haire of an Irish lacky that brought it, who not handling his matters with that warines as was requisite, the letter was discovered, and captaine Tailor apprehended; nevertheless by the helpe of his owne wit, and the assistance of his friends, he was soone set at libertie againe, though with an exceeding suspition, that ever after overlooked his doings, insomuch, that in great grieve of minde he complained unto me, that the only jealousy held of him in regard of this letter, would be a great hinderance to that satisfaction which hee had in his minde resolved, which was at least to have drawn back awaie with him all such English souldiers as served the king in that regiment, which, in regard of their love unto him, he might easily have done. But it pleased the Almighty in his judgements to prevent him, and to take him awaie in the midst of his imaginations; for he and my lord of Westmerland having bin one daie in the quarter of the Wallons, banqueted by a captaine of the count of Egmonts, where, according to the use of that nation, either of them had bin constrained to drinke liberally; as they returned backe together, they two in companie alone towards Evergham, they fel into contention about a frivolous matter, concerning one Davies an Irishman, that served the earle, and that so far, that the earle reviling him in many opprobrious names, lighted down his horse, and drew his sword, willing him to doo the like; but Tailor knowing howe extreamly there the law determines of him that should draw his sword against his coronell, put spurs to his horse, and galloped home before to his lodging; which scorne of his, as the earle did interpret it, moved him to so great cholar, that getting up on his horse he pursued him, and drew upon him againe afore the very doore of his lodging, which indignity Tailor not being able any further to indure, drawing his rapier, likewise encountered him, and after some thrusts betweene them, ranne the earle verie daungerously into the brest, at which instant Contraras the Spaniard, accompanied with many souldiers of the earles companie, the most parte of the which had halbertes, came running in, and invironing Tailor of all sides, most

cruelly murdered him with above twentie woundes ; for which cause the earle was, upon the complaintes and earnest pursuite of the other captaines and souldiers, by the duke of Parma for a time bannished the regiment, and the government thereof given to one Mana Cardonni, an Italian.

Shortly after, another of these captains, called Edward Vincent, was sent out of the lande of Wast, where the Spanish armie laie then incamped, with two hundred English souldiers, in companie of an Italian captaine with as many more Italians, towards the forte of Terneuse, where by a sallie made from out the forte, they were all overthrowen, sundrie slaine, and among the rest captaine Vincent taken prisoner; where neverthelesse, in regard of former acquaintance with coronell Michael, who was there commaunder for the States, hee found such favour at his handes, that hee was not presently delivered over to the States, (as hee mortally feared) but set at raunsome at an hundred and fiftie poundes, provided that the same should bee sent with speed, for otherwise when the matter should bee once knowen to the States in Holland, it coulde not bee in his power possible anie longer to withhold him; of which desperate estate Vincent did with all speed advertise his father, being then a poore olde man, well neere seventie yeeres of age, who having by present sale of such thinges as his son had lefte wyth him, raised some part of the money, fell downe uppon his knees before the duke, weeping and imploring his helpe for the rest, telling him in the Spanish tongue (in the which language he was verie perfect) the great daunger and extremitie of the case his sonne then stode in, if so bee his raunsome were not presently sent. But in stead of yeelding him releefe, the duke badde take awaie the importunate dotard; but when neverthelesse hee persisted (overcome with a fathers affection) to use many loude and passionate speeches, the Spaniardes by violence thrust him awaie, calling him foole and dronkarde. The griefe whereof strake the olde man so inwardly to the heart, that hee went home to his lodging, and died within sixe dayes after. And his sonne, when his raunsome came not in time, was by the States

commandement sent to Bargaenopsome, and there hanged in chaines, where his carcasce remaineth yet waving in the winde.

Smith held yet somewhat longer out, though drinking as deeply in the cup of misery, or rather deeplier than anie of the rest; for hee fell thorough sicknesse and povertie into such extremitie of wantes, that of a captaine hee was faine to become a victualler, and to buy butter and cheese, and by making sale thereof againe to helpe and releve his poore estate. Withall, he fell into so strange and extreme a dropsie, that I scarcely beleve the like was ever heard of; neither truly doo I speak this to amplifie the matter, for all those that have seen him beyond sea will approve my speeches; either of his legs was swollen to that bignes of a mans middle, his face onely was bare of flesh and miserable, and his eies sunke into his head, in such sorte, that I never remember to have beheld a more pittifull spectacle: in which miserie, after he had languished well neere a yeere and a halfe, he died finally in extreame calamitie, as it is tolde me since, at Gaunt, in the yeere 1588.

Walsh onely had this good hap, that he survived all the rest; of whom I will speake the lesse, because there is scarcely anie one in England that professeth armes, but knew both him and his fortunes. After the breaking of the regiment, from a captaine he was faine to become a private soldier, and yet not thereunto without great sute accepted, under Canullo de Mounts companie of horsemen in the garrison of Breda, which issuing one daie forth of the towne, was upon the plaines neere adjoyning encountered and defeated by sir Philip Sidney's companie of English lances, and among the rest captaine Walsh in two places grievously wounded and taken prisoner, and brought into Holland, where my lord of Leicester gave commandement presently to hang him. Sir Philip Sidney (being full of true honor) earnestly intreated my lord for his pardon, and obtayned it, in respect that he knew him to bee valiant, and withall, that howsoever in this action transported, yet he had ever borne a dutifull regard towards her majestie. Whereupon beeing recovered of his hurts, hee served some-

while in the armie under my lord of Leicester as a private soldier. Afterwards comming into England, he went with my lord Willoughbie as ensigne to one of his companies to the siege of Paris. Lastly, hee followed my lord of Essex into France as a private souldier, where his fortune was to be slaine under the wals of Roane: and with his death finished the last act of this tragedie. Of which truly I knowe not what you wyll judge that reade, but sure I am that I who write it am full of wonder and amazement, when with my selfe I consider in so short a space the fal of so many men of great courage and valour, all taken awaie by violent death. Which undoubtedly maketh me assure my self that God doth mightily protect the cause of her majestie, and wil not suffer the disloialties of her unfaithful subjects to escape unpunished, as by these most miraculous foreremembred examples most evidentlie appeareth.

But now to proceed with my discourse. Shortly after came sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, either of them being a man of great courage, well approved valor, and long experience in the warres, the one rendering unto the king the towne of Deventer, and the other betraying the forte of Zutphen; the one being coronel over a regiment of foote, and the other captain of a companie of lances. Let us see the one and the others prosperitie, and the sequell of their usage under their new chosen master the Spanish king. First, sir William Stanley was confirmed governor of the towne which hee rendred, and his regiment left there in garison, with the receit of two moneths pay. For a while he lived in the greatest applause that might be; cardinal Allen was written unto to Rome, to send down priests to instruct this religious regiment. He informed the pope thereof, who both wrote joyntly unto the king, to be good and gracious unto this regiment, which being well and liberally intreated, as they had alreadie at Rheimes and Rome a seminarie of students and schollers, to praie and write for the catholike cause of our countrie, so this being conducted by so worthy and catholike a gentleman as Sir William Stanley, might bee a contynuall nurserie and seminarie of souldyers to fight for the

same. Withall, cardinall Allen wrote a booke unto the captaines and souldiers of this regiment, indevoring therein to satisfie theyr consciences as touching the justice of this action, and likewise animating them constantly to persever in this goodly course into the which they were now entered. Besides, downe came priestes thicke and threefolde from France and Italie, catechizing these newe souldyers with many masses and continuall sermons. Gentlemen that for theyr conscience laye dispersed in other partes, all drewe downe thether in hope of this good payment and golden world that there was talked of. In the meane time, while the matters were thus in handling, there chaunced to arise a great and deadly contention betweene sir William Stanley and Rowland Yorke, which, as you shall heare, yeelded a verie good and easie occasion to overthrowe them both; which to the ende you may the better understande, I thinke it not amisse to fetch the matter somewhat farther from the beginning.

Deventer, whereof sir William Stanley was made governour by my lorde of Leicester, is a fayre citie, chiefe and metropolitane of the province called Overisel, which confineth on Frizeland, situated upon the inside of the river Isel; not farre thence upon the same river and the same side, standeth a great towne called Zutphen, wherein there was for the king of Spaine a governour called Tassos, a Germane borne, and of obscure parents, but himselfe of notable courage, and by degrees and deserts was growen unto these partes to great reputation and commandement, next in authority to Verdugo, who was generall of Frizeland, Overisel, Zutphen, and the bordering places; he had first trained Tassos up to the warres, and given him from time to time such charges and preferments, as at length he had brought him to bee in a manner equal with himselfe in dignitie, insomuch that at last hee began to suspect his greatnes, and would have clipt his wings, but could not, for the other was passing ambitious, full of courage, and by name and many deserts knowen unto the king, so that in no sort he would let himself be touched in the lest jot of his greatnes and reputation, wherupon each of them bare a secret grudge and rancor to the other, which

came by this meanes to bee more inflamed : For sir William Stanley having in his mind fully determined the rendition of Deventer, entred into secret practise with Tassos for the perfourming thereof ; who with al gladnes and secrecy intertained his offer til such time as the town was rendered into the hands of Tassos, upon such agreements and conditions as between them were concluded. Tassos exceedingly rejoyced at the honour of his enterprise ; and received both from the king and the duke of Parma many thankes and promises of reward, for his diligence and discreet behaviour therein. Than the which nothing could be more displeasing and bitter to Verdugo, who beeing governor of the province, and having the forces in his hand, tooke it as an exceeding disgrace and scorne done unto him, that an inferior person, such as he reckned Tassos to be, shuld underhand accomplish so great an exploit, and go away with the honor therof, and he in the mean time remain stale and neglected, as a man utterly accounted unworthie so much as once to bee acquainted therewith ; so that from that time forward he nourished in his heart a deadly hatred against Tassos and sir William Stanley. In the meane time Rowland Yorke's companie of horsemen was confirmed unto him by the duke of Parma, and both hee and they sent downe to lie in garison at Deventer ; where of the one side hee taking upon him more commandement than sir William Stanley thought to be convenient, and on the other side scorning to live as a private captaine in a towne of garison, (especially under the commaundement of one of his nation, to whom he judged himselfe no way inferior in worthines,) they began to enter into a great mislike one of the other, and by degrees into deadly quarrels and challenges, as some nowe in England can well testifie, who were mediators betweene them. Neverthelesse by meane of friends they grew againe to reconciliation, though the same was but from the teeth outward, and continued not long. For Yorke in the meane time having discovered Verdugo's humor, fell secretly to practise with him, a meane whereby to thrust sir William and his companies out of the towne, hoping, (and therein being by Verdugo comforted and confidently as-

sured) that upon the remove of sir William, the government of the towne should remaine wholly in himself; wherupon he ceased not to beat into Verdugo's eares (that were of nothing more desirous than of these newes) the wavering inconstant humours of sir William Stanley, the offers made unto him by my lord of Leicester, and his other friends in England; especially of the small affection his souldiers had to the service of the Spanish king, who desired nothing more than an occasion to recover the favour of their countrie, which by no meanes they should so soone procure, as by redelivering the towne: assuring him, that there were to this end great practises in hand, which could not but turne to a dangerous issue if they should not be in time prevented. Presently thereupon Verdugo wrote unto the duke of Parma, aggravating the matter with so many additions of his own, that the duke counted the town as half lost alreadie, though in truth I thinke there was never anie such matter pretended, and presently sent downe a straight commission to Verdugo, to draw three of the sixe companies, over which sir William Stanley was governor, out of the towne, under colour of succouring monsieur de Haultpen, brother to the earle of Barlamont, who was in the fieldes with some few forces, taking in certaine places of Gelderland. Verdugo was nothing slow to execute this commission, but caused it to be accomplished with all speed, thrusting in theyr place certaine companies of his owne into the town; and within a while after he so practised, that sir William Stanley with his other three companies, were under the like colour of service commanded also to come forth, being told that he should presently returne into it againe; which as yet to this day he never did: But by this fine devise was eased of his government; and such goods as he and his soldiers left, were spoiled and made bootie of, even as though they had pertained to publike enemies; since which time this regiment of seminarie soldiers with all their religion, were never trusted in anie towne, nor, as I beleeeve, ever shall be. Being now joyned with the troups of Haultpenne, they chanced to incounter the enemye harde by Balduke, where the Italians and Burgonians, over which captaine Haultpenne

had charge, playing exceedingly the cowardes, they onely behaved themselves, though with losse of many of their lives, so manfully, and with such courage, that they grewe over the whole countrie into a marvellous reputation of good souldiers. But leaving here Haultpenne their general wounded to death, they marched downe into Brabant, where for recompence of their late good service, they were wintered in the field, without monie, and in such great miserie, nakednesse, and povertie, that tenne weekes together theyr chiefest food and sustenance in Turnot was dried akornes that they found in sellers; which diet the priests not liking of, came to their coronell to Antwarpe, who to avoid the lamentations and complaints of his souldiers had gotten him thether before, where one Oliver Eustace, an Irish gentleman, told him to his face that he was the author of these poore mens miserie, and therefore bound in conscience to procure them some releefe. Sir William bit his lip, knowing well that hee had told him truth, and their calamitie went to his very heart, but how to remedie it he knew not, and therefore absented himselfe in Antwarpe, where you should never have founde his table without foure or five priests; some of the which were in their behaviour and wordes farre more insolent and sausie than the meeknesse of their vocation required; insomuch that the captaines and gentlemen tooke such grieve and scandall at their controlling humour, that they left sir William Stanley wholye abandoned and unfrequented. Some did much wonder howe a gentleman of his worthinesse and courage could indure these indignities, as to suffer himselfe to be directed and governed by them, especially in such matters as concerned not their vocation. I wil not touch for some respects herein anie particulars, but if you speake with captaine Hart, who was then sir Williams lieutenant, or wyth captaine Salsburie, who are nowe both in England, they will satisfie you farther in this matter; none can better speake it than they, especially the last named, because hee opposed himselfe, and had sure sunke under the burthen, if that his wit and courage had not carryed him thorough. Once sir William Stanley began to looke it, and to avoide both that and other inconve-

niences, tooke (some yeres since) his journey into Spaine, partly to secure unto himselfe some estate of living, of which hee nowe (considering this dealing) beganne to doubt, partly by the invitation of the Jesuites, wyth which order hee is exceedinglye enchanted, and to them wholye subjected, who dealte for him in such sorte wyth the cardinall, that hee presently sent Parsons awaye into Spaine, to infourme the king of his worthynesse and virtue, and wythall, of his experience of the sea coastes of England, but especially of his intelligence about Ireland, which in truth he presumeth to be verie great. Parsons plaid his parte in such sorte, that sir William Stanley was presently sent for, who uppon his arrivall dyd what hee coulde to perswade the king to sende forces for Ireland ; but belyke there was not such greate credite given him as he expected there should be, insomuch that hee wrote letters to Holte the Jesuite, beeing in Brussels, (which is his countriman, and one uppon whom he chiefly relieth,) of great discontentment, signifying that his intertainment was far colder than hee expected. Within short space after he was sent downe to the kings navie, lying at Coronia, where a while hee remained with the Adelantado. In the meane time his regiment began to drop and droup away, in such sorte, that what for lack of sustenance, and through ill usage, the number of them was so melted, that they were not in all above an hundred and fiftie : and for the chifest captaines, leaders, and gentlemen, they did both so much mislike the base handling of matters, and also the practises there dayly set abroch against their countrie, that they made (by means) intercession to her majestie for their pardon, which of her mercifull and roiall benignitie she granted ; so that such of them as remain alive, do injoy their countrie, and can testifie this which I have sayd to be true. But now to returne to Yorke, whom I left in Darentre, assured both by Verdugo's promises and his owne hopes, of the towns government, when he saw Grave Harman make his entrie as new created governour by the dukes appointment, you must imagine that it grieved him to the verie gall ; but forced he was to dissemble it with his best patience. Nevertheles having in the towne a gallant companie of lances,

in despite of them he florished and bare his head aloft, ranging and scouring over the whole countrie, bringing in dayly great booties, and growing rich. This prosperitie of his was a great blemish in their eie, for they knew him to be discontented and of a dangerous humour, so that they did not greatly trust him; him therefore fairely one daie at dinner they caused to bee poisoned, where likewise were poisoned with him yong Richard Souch, and Robert Fenne priest; but he belike having swallowed the chiefe substance, they onely met with the drams, so that he died miserably, and they fel sicke and brake out into many pustules and biles, yet afterwards recovered, and did give this testimonie. His breath was no sooner out of his body, but Trias, a Spanish captaine, and Grave Harman, the newe governor, rusht into his lodging to break up his coffers; in which being withstoode by Yorkes lieutenant, John Bowcer, and by Edward Bowcer his brother, they caused their gardes at noone daies to enter in upon them, and most inhumanely and barbarously to murther them both in their own presence; which worthie exploit beeing perfourmed, they brake up his coffers, tooke out his jewells, plate, and monie, of which they found great store, appropriating the same to their own use, as likewise they did his horses, armes, and furniture, though he by testament had bequeathed them to a litle youth, his brothers sonne, called Edmond Yorke, being then in those parts with him. Lastly, they chased his whole companie out of the towne, and spoyled their baggage at the gates; who (poore men) seeing their captain poisoned, their lieutenant murthered, and themselves so unchristanly dealt withall, repaired to Verdugo, imploring his helpe and assistance in so hard an extremitie, who for recompence, verie charitably cashierd them al without the receipt of one peny.*

Afterwards when the fame of this poisoning grew rife abroad, they gave out and published, that some one had done it suborned thereunto by the councell of England; but if there had bin no other prooffe, (as there were infinit) yet the sequell of their doings, their murthering of his friends, and the robbing of his treasure, shewed by whom it was done, and wherat they aimed. Thus much as touching the usage

which they receved from the king and his ministers: nowe keeping the course I began, let us see with what prosperitie it pleased God to blesse this action of sir William Stanley's, and those whom he used as instruments therein.

After his comming into the kings service, he divided his regiment, which was the greatest part Irish, into sixe companies. The leading of his owne company he gave to Peter Winne, in which roome afterwards (master Winne discharging himselfe) hee placed one Hart, an olde souldier and follower of his. The other five companies he gave to Gwin, Salsburie, Eaton, Reinolds, and Harrison, the sargeant majorship hee gave to one Simon Scurlocke, an Irish gentleman; but above all the rest, he himself conversed most in kindnes of love and affection with one R. Ashton, who had bin his bed-fellow, and the greatest furtherer of him in this enterprise. The foure first named, after humble suite made unto her majesties honourable councell for their pardon, returned into England, and imployed themselves with great commendation in her majesties service.

Gwin went first with my lord of Essex, and lastly with sir Roger Williams over into France, as sargeant major of his regiment, where beeing wounded in a skirmish before the wals of Roane, hee languished thereof grievously some three or foure weekes, and finally ended his daies at Diep.

Peter Winne likewise went over with my lord of Essex into France; and now lastly hearing of the Turks desent into Hungarie, obtained leave to go serve in the Christian armie against him, where hee was exceedingly well intertained, and honoured with the leading of a companie of footmen. But now in the late overthrow given by the Turke to archduke Mathias, it is reported that he was slaine. I could wish the reporte to bee untrue, for he was a man of singular good partes, and might have done her majestie much good service.

James Eaton went the Portingall voiage with sir Francis Drake, where with the extremitie of sicknes he died on the waie.

Onely captaine Salsburie liveth, but hath tasted his part of as much adverse fortune, as truely I thinke his verie enemies could wish him.

Reinolds, laboring with al instance by his friends here in England for his pardon, was prevented of his return by a cruel bloodie flux, of the which he died in Brussels.

Harison was one morning, as the companies marched, run thorough the bodie and slaine by a baggage fellow of the regiment, whom he had stricken the night before.

Scurlocke the sargeant major, stragling with certain of the soldiers abroad, was incountred by the pesants, and chased up into a church steeple, where finally both he and they, refusing to submit themselves to the fury of the clownes, were burnt alive.

Roger Ashton comming lately into England, was apprehended and executed at Tiburne for treason.—If God himself lay it downe as one of his blessings, that he will give the righteous long and many happy daies on the earth, surely then the taking of these men away in the best of their yeeres by such violent ends, in my judgement, is an apparent argument of his wrath; from which of his divine and inestimable mercie, I beseech him to deliver us.

Neither were it onely the captaines that thus perished, but in a manner all the rest, though I trouble you not with their particular names and discourses, in so much, that lately (the olde English and Irish souldiers being worne out) sir William Stanley was faine to fill up his regiment with Wallons and Dutchmen, appointing new captaines over them, and making one Jaques Francesco his lieutenant coronell; one borne in Antwarp of Italian parents, but from his infancie brought up in England, and in many dueties tied both to the nation, and to sundry gentlemen of the same, for many their loves and liberalities towarde him, especially to the late lord chancelor, whom he served, and who had alwayes bin his especiall good friend and favorer. He followed a while the warres of Ireland, where hee behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to honest degrees in her majesties service,

such as among souldiers are accounted honourable and of reputation ; at length beeing brought thence, not without great suspition of ill carrying himselfe in matter of alleageance to her majestie, yet he found such assured friends, that he did not onely recover his libertie and freedome, but also tasted verie deeply of their liberalities, such, as I thinke some of them, though verie honourable, scarcely ever used the like to anie ; and ingaged wyth these curtesies, which for ever wold have tied a thankfull minde, he was suffered to depart the realme. All which notwithstanding, it is reported, that there is not anie beyond the sea that doth run a more violent and unreverent course against the person of her majestie, and the state of our countrie, than he doth ; at which truly I do much wonder, how a minde not altogether void of reason and humanitie, can suffer it self to sinke into so deepe a degree of ingratitude. Let him yet at length looke into his owne conscience, and if so many benefits received claime not his fidelity and service, yet at least let them keepe him from attempting villanie. I speake this in respect of his owne good, and not that hee nor ten thousand more such as he is, is able to do her majestie or her realme a halfepeenie worth of harme ; for the mightie hande of God, and the approved valour of her faithfull subjectes are able, and wyll alwayes defend and protect her against whatsoever violence of whosoever her malicious enemies, who hetherto have done her no farther harme, than themselves to perish, and to bee confounded in their owne devises ; and I hope it shall never be otherwise. But as for Jaques, if he will needs run on his desperate course, forgetfull of the oaths and protestations he made when hee departed out of England, let him likewise attend that scourge and punishment which ever followeth such infidelitie.

As for the other captains and gentlemen that have anie true English bloud in them, let them yet (for they are those to whom I chiefly intend my speeches) look with a discreeter judgement into the depth of their estates ; let them not tire out their yeres and youth in so com-

fortles and unrewarded a service, the end wherof is never other than untimely death, desolation, or beggarie; let them not trust themselves to sleep in the bosome of a flattering stepmother, that holdeth a knife in her hand to cut their throates, when they may securely throwe themselves into the armes of a loving naturall mother, that will receive them, comming like penitent and obedient children, with true teares and perfect joy. Let them cast backe theyr eyes upon the glorie and greatnesse of her majestie, theyr soveraigne princesse, who in deed is a true and loving mother to us all; let them but looke into the happie and blessed estate of their native countrie, and finally consider the dutie they doo owe unto them both. They are not yet so farre past, but that their submission may be received; yea, and such services they may do, highly rewarded too.

But leaving these digressions, to which I know not what zeale transporteth me, judge now (I praie you) what reward, honor, and advancement, you may expect of the king of Spaine, that never deserved of him anie favour or good usage, when you see these men suffered to perish, and that in so miserable estate, that have done him so many, so great, and so weightie services. But perchance you will saie that hee hath dealt better with private men than he hath done with those tumultuous militar troupes: if you can name me but anie one that he hath raisd or advanced to honor, or that liveth richly or wealthily in his service, I will name you an hundred, that being gentlemen of good houses, and of worthie merit, have consumed, languished, and bene brought to nothing in his service, yea, and some of them perished and died for lack of sustenance. You perchance will name Hugh Owen; and in good faith he is the onely man that ever I knew advanced, credited, or graced in his service; and yet (God wot) all that he getteth is no more than to maintain him in a meane estate or shew, with a man onely or two to serve him: where, on the other side, I will reckon you up of those that are onely for want of things necessarie, and of pure povertie, consumed and dead, M. Dakers, Michael Tempest, old

Norton, Israel Harman, Markenfield, Tremaine, Stradling, Henrie Carew, Edward Allen, Fleming, Suthwell, Bulmer, with sundrie others of good race and credit in their countrie.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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